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HINCKLEY G. MITCHELL

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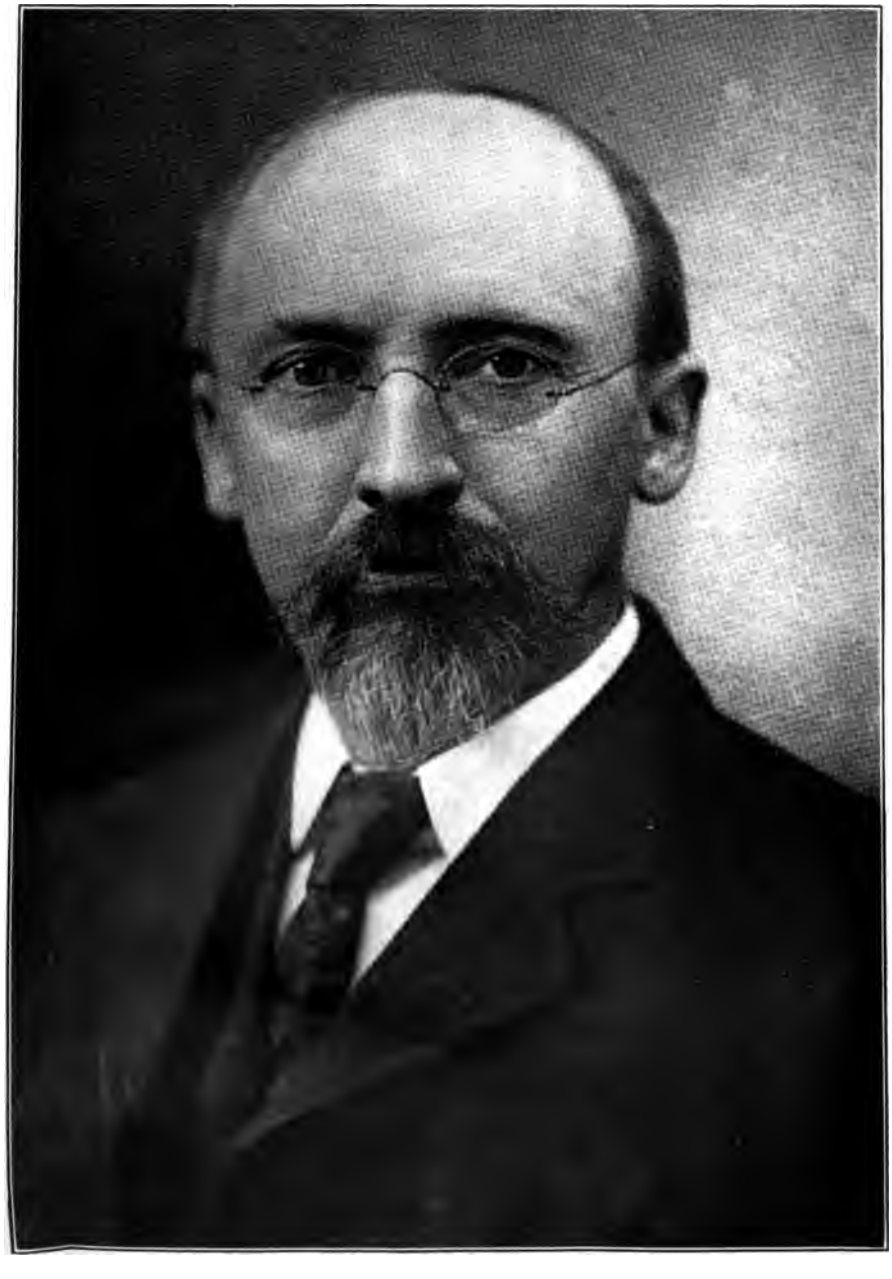

H. S. Mitchell

5 Beacon Street.

FOR THE BENEFIT OF MY CREDITORS

BY
HINCKLEY G. MITCHELL

With Foreword by
DALLAS LORE SHARP

PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

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FOREWORD

"The consciousness of this sonship dominated his life and" . . . . and there the pen falls from the weary fingers! He asked me to finish the sentence. I do not know what he intended to say. But I do know that the same consciousness dominated his life. If ever Jesus had a brother and God a second son it was Hinckley Gilbert Mitchell. And in the light of that conscious relationship how deadly a thing is orthodoxy! How petty, how futile, a faith that can cabin and confine God in doctrines and denominational creeds!

Here is as modest and self-withholding a story as a man ever told of himself. It would never have been told, had the author not hated intellectual cowardice as he hated moral cowardice,—with a perfect hatred. He sought the truth,—in the Word of God, and in the minds of men. The geologist seeks some of the same truth in the rocks; the astronomer in the stars. The Old Testament was Professor Hinckley Gilbert Mitchell's field; and laying aside tradition and the spirit of dogma it was as a scientist that he patiently, fearlessly, reverently sought for what his long and thorough preparation made him eminently able to find.

Such was the timber of his mind. In his trial and condemnation by the Bishops of his Church, he felt that truth had been assailed and the scientific method. He did not write this book to defend himself. His trial was long past and most of his life had been lived, before a page of this was penned. He came at it reluctantly: it might seem vindictive, might hurt his beloved church; it might seem selfish, egotistical and petty, and so undo the work of years of honest living. But neither himself nor his church was as important as the truth, and in his trial, truth had been tried and the only way of knowing truth had been condemned. So he sits down to this story of his life as to another Genesis, gratefully to account for the authorship of his being as a man and as a scholar, his preparation, his attitude, his methods,—and incidentally that his conclusions might be proved; for he never claimed to have the ultimate and the whole truth. We may or may not have the truth about Evolution, but we have a certain and a great truth in Darwin's mind and method. It was *how* Darwin tried to solve this problem, rather than the solution that has changed the thinking of the world.

For three years I was a student of Hebrew and Old Testament Exegesis under Dr. Mitchell. I have forgotten all he taught me. But the way he taught me changed my outlook upon life. His

attitude itself was truth, and flooded not only the whole mind, but one's whole being with light. Many a time I have sat in his class room during the discussion of some highly difficult and dangerous (doctrinally) question, and said to myself, amid the drawn daggers of those who had murder in their hearts, "Right or wrong his findings, he is himself the way, the truth, and the life of scholarship."

He loved to teach. He loved to teach young preachers. He was not himself adapted to the pulpit. But he was the teacher born. The class room was his from the foundation of the world. Here he was preaching from many future pulpits. He saw his students at the ends of the earth speaking to the minds as well as to the hearts of men, revealing the intelligence no less than the love of God, and expounding a diviner Bible because it was so wholly human a Bible. In all of these future pulpits he heard his own voice speaking, his own simple sincere faith of the class room being given to men over the whole wide world.

The thought of it thrilled him. It lifted him up. He dwelt in the presence of the opportunity as in the very presence of the Most High. As humble a man as I ever knew, doubting his every power and gift, and relying only on the truth to make him free, he would come into the class room

and take his chair on the six-inch platform, which raised him by so much above his students, as if that platform were the Mount of Transfiguration. His face would shine; his voice, his gestures, his attitude working with his careful words, made his whole being radiant with zeal for the truth and love for us, his students, so mysteriously given to his care. And how we loved him in return!

Then suddenly, after more than twenty years of this, he was expelled,—driven from this sacred class room and branded as unsound, unsafe, unfit!

No, not suddenly. It was only the verdict of his judges that came suddenly. No one nowadays could prepare his mind for a judgment like that. For five or six of the years, during which the trouble makers, under pretense of study, had elected his courses at the Theological School, I had either been a student under him or his close and sympathetic friend, and though I prepared a brief paper in his defense for the Bishops, and knew as he knew that his enemies would stop at nothing in their bitter zeal, still I remember vividly the utter shock and astonishment of the Bishops' decision. And I remember, for I cannot forget, its strange numbing effect upon him. It came over him slowly, else I think he might have died. It crept upon him like a dreadful palsy, leaving him dazed and dumb. He was too

simple a man to realize it quickly, too entirely single in mind and heart to realize it wholly. It slowly crushed him to the earth. And never in all the after years was he whole again. His heart was broken. He rose up and taught, until the very hour God called him to a larger place, but never again in his old class room nor with his former spirit. Day after day he would pass by the Theological School with its hundreds of eager students; he would see them gathering at the hour of his lecture; but another teacher, (one whom he had trained), would come in and take his place, while he plodded down the street and out to a stranger school, a shepherd without his sheep.

He forgave utterly; but he could not forget. He welcomed the new work at Tufts College. He found honor, and love, and fellowship there. They gave him freedom. They created a place for him that had not been before. He could teach what he wished and as he wished. It was enough for them to have him among them, and many a time he told me of how unworthy he felt of all this love and honor in his declining years, and how it had stayed and steadied him in his deep defeat. But they did not need him at Tufts,—so he felt. It was more for the honor of scholarship than for the good he would do them. But he felt that they did need him at his own beloved school, whose pol-

icies he had helped to shape, whose spirit he had helped to create, whose name and fame he had so largely helped to establish, and whose students, crowding in from the east and from the great west, he longed to take into his heart and his home, as for so many happy years he had been in the habit of doing.

"Oh, Jerusalem, Jerusalem," he would cry as he passed by on the street, a stranger, and saw the students going in and out, "Oh, Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that stonest the prophets, . . . how oft would I have gathered thee under my wings as a hen gathereth her chickens, but ye would not."

This, however, was not the doing of the school. The Theological School, faculty and students, with the exception of those few who came for the express purpose of accusing him, were loyal. The president of the University, his loving friend, was loyal, and did all that lay in his power to prevent the iniquity of the trial and the decision. This only added to the tragedy. To have been tried by his peers and co-laborers, by those who knew him and the field of his labors, would have challenged him to a fair fight for his position; but to have been accused by three or four narrow-minded students, (one of whom recanted later and all of whom deserve oblivion), who had come with malice aforethought, whose very presence in the school

was a lie, to be accused by such as these, I say, and then tried by a board of judges, to whom he was largely a stranger, not one of whom probably was his equal as a scholar in the field involved, —this made the shame to the school, to himself, and to truth, doubly deep and sore.

There remained one thing more for him to do; and as soon as he could do it lovingly as a Christian, and dispassionately, as a scholar, without bias or prejudice or any personal ends except the ends of gratitude and truth, he set about this autobiography. And I wonder, if among autobiographies, there is another that approaches this for detachment, restraint, and self-negation; for absolute adherence to the facts for the sake of the truth involved, a truth not of self at all, but wholly of scholarship? This is more of a thesis than an autobiography,—as if the author were writing of another *Wall of Nehemiah,* and no more involved in it personally, than he was present in *The World Before Abraham!*

This is one of the most remarkable evidences of severe and scientific scholarship that I have ever seen; and it is equal evidence of his Christian grace in a heart naturally stubborn and self-contained. No accusing word is here, nothing bitter and unchristian. But just the opposite: *For the Benfit of my Creditors* is a work of love. His very

character had been assailed by his enemies, but this, while it hurt, could not harm him. He stood upon his conscious integrity calm and silent. It was not the attack upon himself that concerned him. It was that Truth had been attacked. His trial and condemnation struck straight at God. It was an attempt to make the Bible a denominational book; to confound truth with tradition and give it a doctrinal color or a denominational slant. The Church may compel its *theologians* to do that if it has to, but its scholars, those who discover truth, it should leave free. God and truth are not denominational, nor Protestant nor Catholic nor Hebrew. God is truth, and single or separate, God and Truth belong to the fearless, the frank, and the pure,—in science not more than in religion. For are ye not as children of the Ethiopians unto me, O children of Israel? Have not I brought up Israel out of the land of Egypt? and the Philistines from Caphtor, and the Syrians from Kir?

That God had led the Philistines and the Syrians, no less than the Israelites was the great lesson I was taught by Professor Mitchell. I recall the day we came upon that wonderful passage in Amos in our study of this favorite prophet; and how for the first time in my life the universality of truth dawned upon me out of that passage. I had been worshipping a tribal, denominational God, up

to that time. I had been seeing different kinds of truth,—like the different tribes of old in Palestine —warring truths, each with its own territory, its own grip upon me, when suddenly as Professor Mitchell opened up this mighty saying of Amos, I saw one God of us all, one truth for us all, and all of us searching, under God's leading, for the truth. Henceforth the Philistines and the Syrians and the children of Israel were to be as the Ethiopians to me, as they are to God,—all of us led by him, and all of us free. No teacher ever taught me a diviner lesson than that.

It was not a body of truth that this great teacher was called to expound. It was the spirit of truth, —the desire for truth, the search for truth, the nature of truth *that it is God,*—this was his high calling. And in condemning him, his Church was confounding tradition and truth, blocking the road to truth, and threatening, in this example of him, to punish the daring who discover and bring us forward into new realms of truth. In his trial and condemnation the church was saying: "Study, but study to perpetuate the past; to preserve the old; to defend doctrine, and establish tradition. We have the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. No new light can possibly break forth from God's word, or from any word. Revelation is closed. And if you think you have

new light, hide it, and if you discover new truth, do not publish it, do not teach it, for among the three hundred men in your school there are three who have closed their minds to light and truth, and have sworn by all the past to keep them closed; and it would jeopardize the Church if you should pry those three minds open to the light and to the truth of to-day."

These are not his words. There is a tang of bitterness in them. They are mine. Yet it was partly because he believed exactly that, believed that the Church meant to make him a warning to all scholars and honest thinkers within its fold, that he set about this autobiography, which hastened his end and which he died writing.

"Rabbi," we students called him affectionately, and strangely enough he seemed to look the part. He was the thorough scholar. Careful, methodical by nature, he was German trained, and to all of this was added a profound reverence for the Book which was his life's study, and a deep sense of all his responsibility as its teacher. Had his life's task been a haystack with one single needle of divine truth lost within it, he would have tirelessly taken it down, straw by straw, for the needle of truth, just as Madame Curie, aware of some mysterious power in the crude common bulk of slag, patiently eliminated pound after pound, ton

after ton of the gross elements until she held in her hand the pulsing particle of radium, hardly larger than the head of a pin, whose light illumines and almost blinds the groping world. Had Professor Mitchell not been a student of the Bible, he might have been a student of chemistry, for his methods and his zeal were exactly those of the discoverer in any field, and it might have been his honor and glory, as it chanced to be Madame Curie's, to give radium to the world.

Instead of glory, his was condemnation and defeat. Yet his very mind and method, applied anywhere else, would have won him distinction and honor. There is no other mind or method, except the closed mind and the method of appeal to authority, as against the trial by experiment and fact. Truth is truth whether in Theology or in Chemistry, and only the open mind, the free, the bold, the experimenting mind finds it. Traditions have to be defended. Truth is its own defense. The mind of Professor Mitchell was never on the defensive. Let "the Forts of Folly fall," he was far over the frontier where there was no need for forts. So here in his life he writes not to defend himself, but to express himself, his gratitude; and to explain himself, his position, his purpose, his principles as to the way of truth, the light of truth, the truth of truth.

Professor Mitchell was as simple as he was sincere. But simplicity in a great spirit is the sign, the very expression of sincerity. He was interested in all human things. He could make wonderful coffee. He could build a stone wall with the best of masons, and how he used to tramp the woods with me for mushrooms!

I was a stranger in Boston and had been in his classes for a week perhaps, when I met him downtown. It was a very real pleasure to be stopped and called by name and quizzed by the great teacher. What was I looking for in Boston? A hammer? "Come along," he said, turning short about, "there's a good hardware store down this street. I'll go with you and see that you get a Maydole,—a Maydole now,—they're the only wear in hammers." I got the Maydole; that was twenty-six years ago; I have it yet. His was a little act. But I have drawn many a nail with that hammer. Yea, I have built him a mansion with it.

I speak of that little thing here because it was such a characteristic act. The details of life tremendously interested him. He was entirely human and as interested in the human side of his students as he was in their intellectual and spiritual sides. From my study window here in Hingham as I write, eight stone faces stare at me

out of the retaining wall in the driveway, big granite chunks of boulder they were in my meadow years ago. It was Professor Mitchell who rigged the tackle and helped me put those stones here in the wall. He could fix a toggle, he could "cut" and "pize" and "wop" a stone with lever and chain so as to "move mountains." "There! There!" he would say, "let the mare do the work; let the mare do the work," when I would rush up at a quarter-ton chunk of solid granite and, bare-handed, try to hustle it onto the stone boat.

He had built stone walls before,—back on the hill farm in New York State where he was born and had his boyhood. Later he "restored" the Wall of Nehemiah about Jerusalem, but not with any more zest than he helped me build with actual stones the retaining wall from my driveway up Mullein Hill in Hingham.

Can the helpfulness and inspiration of such a teacher be measured? Theological students are as naturally full of trouble as rag-weeds are of pollen. They know enough to doubt; they are old enough to be married; they are poor; and they preach; and they would like to be pious; but the world and the flesh and the devil are against them. They are only as good as the average of mankind, but they have more than an average share of tribulations. They need Hebrew,—all of them,—

which is one more terrible trouble! But they sorely need human sympathy and wise counsel, and whether they got Hebrew or failed to get it, never a man came into Professor Mitchell's class room who did not also enter at the same moment into the great teacher's open heart and open home. Class room and heart and home belonged to every man who would enter. Professor Mitchell's capacity for patience in the class room was only equalled by the boundless sympathy and the simple hospitality of his nearby home. I do not believe he allowed himself to give me any more than he gave to all. Perhaps I cared more and took more than my share of what he offered to us all alike. From the day of the Maydole hammer to the day of his death, more than twenty-five years later, he never failed of interest in my personal affairs. When I was graduating from the Theological School, President Warren of the University sent for me. I thought I was to be disciplined for something. To my astonishment I was asked to join the teaching staff of the University. I have been on that staff ever since. It was Professor Mitchell who had suggested this to the President, utterly undreamed of by me.

Is it a wonder that the great body of his students were confounded and dismayed that he could be tried on some technical point or other and be

ejected from his chair as unfit to teach the preachers of the gospel of Christ?

The Mitchell home was childless, but not the Mitchell heart; and perhaps the perfect and beautiful devotion of husband and wife was actually deepened by their complete dependence, each on the other. Sturdy, independent thinkers, both of them, they often thought apart, but they always acted together in an ideal union. Never was a man more nobly devoted to a woman.

And throughout the years of his trial, and loss of place and income, she was his stay and comfort. Few men owe more to their wives than Professor Mitchell, for his whole life, every side of it found in her a stimulus, a high fine challenge, and an approval that is life's largest, best reward.

Not long after his own strange fate at the hands of his Church, there fell upon her a terrible stroke, with only years of hopeless invalidism to follow. She was never to be able to help herself again. For both of them now had come the supreme passage of life, but the deep things of the past had prepared them. Nothing in human life that I have seen was nobler, lovelier than the devotion of these two down all the years of suffering,—years of sympathy and mutual support.

A house of old books, of fine old things, of old world things particularly, there was always the

peculiar quiet and yet the peculiar air of activity about the Mitchell home, so characteristic of the working scholar. It was an ideal home for us students to know, especially if we had wives, as many of us had, and I wonder if any other home in all the land was so much of an inspiration to so many young men and women as the Mitchell's home during those many student years?

After the trial the enforced leisure was immediately turned to new studies and larger literary plans. Fresh fields were opened, too, for lecturing,—in the University of Chicago, in Harvard University; and then soon came the invitation to join the staff of Tufts Theological School as a member of the faculty. Life has its compensations and rewards; and if there were no cure for the mortal wound he had received at the hands of his brethren in his own Church, this invitation to Tufts, and the perfect fellowship there to the day he died, was a compensation and a satisfaction that gave to his life a sweet reasonableness, completeness and reward.

There was no variableness nor shadow caused by turning in his unhurried life. For the loss of his professorship did not mean the end of Professor Mitchell's creative scholarship. He worked to the end and was preparing for the day's work when the end came. He knew our hearts, but we our-

selves hardly knew them till he had gone. Then the swift word reached us, and we were told that we should see him no more, that he was to be buried back in New York State with no service of any kind for him here,—here where he had labored so many years! It could not be. On every hand his old pupils appeared. King's Chapel was offered for the funeral. The Chapel Choir volunteered to sing. The minister, the Reverend Dr. Brown, of the Chapel, would speak, so would Dean McCollester of the Tufts Theological School and Ex-President William E. Huntington of Boston University, his President during the trial and his life-long friend,—Methodist, Universalist, Unitarian,—in one mind, all differences forgotten in their single love for the honest scholar, the direct, the earnest, the sincere teacher, and the simple Christ-like man, whose whole life had been a devotion to learning and to doing good.

DALLAS LORE SHARP.

CONTENTS

	PAGE
Foreword by Dallas Lore Sharp	v
Why Write?	1
Birth and Parentage	3
Earliest Years	6
Glimpses of Larger Things	15
An Interlude	28
In College	34
A Beginning in Theology	42
A Student in Germany	55
My First and Only Parish	74
The First Five Years in Boston	87
A Trip to Palestine	96
A Brief but Happy Period	103
A Time of Refreshing	108
Errors and Misunderstandings	118
The Wider Field	129
Zeal without Knowledge	143
A Change of Venue	152
Two Fruitful Years	174
A Legislative Muddle	199
The World Before Abraham Assailed	206
The World Before Abraham Defended	218

CONTENTS

PAGE

"Tell It not in Gath!" 236

A Teacher at Large 254

At the Seat of Authority 271

Some Tributes 311

WHY WRITE?

For some time I have found myself dwelling on my past and recalling, as people well along in years usually do, with more than ordinary clearness, especially, scenes and events of my early life. At first I was content with merely recalling them; then I began to tell my friends about them; but lately I have felt the impulse to put them into writing, and not only them, but the more significant things in my later experience. Not that I think my career a remarkable one, or that, in the course of it, I have made the world in any great degree my debtor. Far from it. In fact, as I look back through the years, I see more and more clearly that I owe the world, or that part of it with which I have been brought into closest contact, much more than it owes me. When, therefore, I have thought of writing, I have been moved thereto, not so much by pride in anything personal, but by a gratitude for the helpful acts and influences brought to bear upon my life which demanded expression. I cannot repay them, but I can confess judgment.

BIRTH AND PARENTAGE

There is a saying that it is a great thing to be well born, that is, I suppose, to come of decent, if not distinguished, lineage. It is a great thing because the traits of parents are likely to reappear in their children from generation to generation, and, if these traits are worthy, they form a basis for a respectable character. Moreover, one who is well born naturally feels more or less proud of his lineage and takes some care not to disgrace it. I know that I have more than once been influenced in this way since I found the name of my great-grandfather Mitchell in the Connecticut Rolls, as a soldier of the Revolution, and learned that my grandmother on my father's side, who was a Hinckley, was descended from Ensign John, a brother of Samuel, the last Governor of Plymouth Colony, with strains from the Breeds of Lynn, Mass., and the Denisons of Stonington, Conn. My mother's parents were simple, but very worthy people, who, moreover, brought new blood into the family; for her father, John Rowlands, who, after a curious Welsh custom, always went by the name of Thomas (John [son of] Thomas [Rowlands]), was a recent immigrant from Nevin, Wales, when he married Sarah Gilbert, of German descent, who,

like himself, was in the service of the Whartons of Philadelphia and Germantown. I, therefore, have in me the blood of at least three races, which perhaps explains my wide sympathies and my freedom from prejudice.

The Thomases did not stay in or near Philadelphia but removed to Oneida County, N. Y., and settled near the small but sightly village of Prospect. There, and later in the village itself, my mother, Sarah Gilbert, grew up. Meanwhile my father, at the age of seventeen, had come from the adjoining town of Remsen to the village, where he first served an apprenticeship as a would-be merchant and afterward taught school. It is not strange, therefore, that the two became acquainted and, on my father's twenty-first birthday, December 23, 1844, were made man and wife.

The next spring after their marriage the young couple left Prospect for a farm in Lee, seven or eight miles north of Rome, where, on the twenty-second of February, 1846, I first saw the light. They moved again soon after my arrival. In fact, I believe I was only two weeks old, when my father bundled my mother and me into a cutter, filled with blankets and drawn by the best horse he could command, and took us back to Prospect, where he was again going into business.

I have never seen the day when I wished I had

never been born. On the contrary, I have thanked God many a time, that he gave me my being and that he put me into the arms of the pair I was permitted to call my parents. They were very unlike, but they were both among the greatest of my creditors. My father was active and enterprising, and, until the panic of 1873 wrecked his plans, a prosperous merchant and farmer. He was sometimes brusque in his manner, but he was kind and gentle at heart, especially toward women and children. In business he was the soul of honor, and not only fair, but generous. As a citizen he was loyal and tolerant, but progressive and, in the expression of his convictions or the performance of his duties, perfectly fearless. My mother was cool and deliberate, and very persistent. My father once testified to her possession of the last characteristic in an unusual degree. I had told him that she was going to do a certain something. "Did she say she was going to do it?" he inquired. I replied in the affirmative. "Well, then," he remarked, "she'll do it." I will leave it to the reader to say later whether I have shown myself worthy of such parents. I will confess that in at least one instance I came short of my mother's tenacity of purpose, by abandoning a concordance of the Hebrew particles on which I had spent some months and of which I had published many pages.

We remained only two years in Prospect, and I am not sure that I remember anything that happened there. The first impressions vivid enough to last were made upon my mind after we went back to Lee, but this time to the northern part, and my father went into business at West Branch, a little hamlet so called because it was on the west fork of the Mohawk River. The locality was a picturesque one, and our house was pretty well situated, for a little brook ran along one side of it and emptied into a pond, made by the river, at the foot of our back garden; and across the pond was a high ridge, partly wooded, to which mother and I used to go for wild flowers and berries. The wilder scenery farther down the river took such a hold upon me that, to this day, when I try to imagine where I should like a bungalow, I find myself borrowing features from those early surroundings.

I have already said enough to indicate that my mother loved the out-of-doors. There was other evidence of it. In winter the window on the south side of her kitchen was always full of fuchsias, geraniums, and other flowering plants, and in summer the little three-cornered plot between the house and

the brook was gay with them. I helped her when she made this bed, and when, later, she invaded the back garden and appropriated a corner of it, I was her accomplice and assistant. My father protested against her encroachments, but he came to take a secret pride and pleasure in our flowers, and, when he saw my interest in growing things, he allowed me to help him, too, in his front garden, and even with his onion bed, the part in which he most delighted. These lessons in gardening marked the beginning of my education, for they not only gave me pleasure at the time, but produced results from which I have profited to this day.

I cannot say at what age I began to go to a proper school. It was probably not very early, for there were no kindergartens in those days and the schoolhouse was a good half mile from our door. Whenever it was, I started off, as I can remember, with my hand in that of the teacher, who was my mother's brother William. He was my favorite uncle, a big, jolly fellow, who, however, could be stern, when it was necessary, as it sometimes was, with the older boys. I loved him because he understood boys, and, when he finally married and settled near my birthplace, I liked nothing better than to pay him and his wife visits, and long ones. I particularly enjoyed Sunday with him, because his wife was a wonderful cook, and, on that day, while she

was reading the weekly paper, he and I lunched in the pantry. Uncle William would take a pie, a pumpkin or an apple pie in its season, draw a knife through the middle of it, and say: "Here, young man; this is my half and that's yours. Fill your jacket." And I did. What boy would hesitate to accept so generous an estimate of his capacity?

I think I must have learned to read before I went to school. I cannot otherwise account for the progress I thereafter made, especially in figures; in which, by the time I was not more than ten, I had gone farther than some of my schoolmates who were twice my age. I had, of course, a number of teachers during this period, some of whom, I heard it said, were not very competent, but all of whom helped me, if only to the extent of holding a book while I recited what I had learned from it. There was one, however, who did more for me than all the rest. She was but a girl when I first went to school to her, a slight creature, with light hair and eyes, and in her cheeks a dainty pink which, on the slightest occasion, deepened to a blush; but there were lines about her mouth that indicated unusual strength of character. It was her courage that made her reputation, when, having taken the place of a man who had failed, she restored order by threshing half a dozen of her oldest pupils, one of

whom was her own brother. I do not remember that she ever punished me. It was not necessary. When I offended she needed only to take a fold of one of my cheeks between her thumb and finger and look me steadily in the eye; whereupon I promptly confessed my guilt and promised anything she required. Indeed, Emily Underhill seems to have stirred, so to speak, my moral nature more than anyone before, even my father by his sometimes pretty severe discipline. When I came to know her more intimately, as my mother's nearest friend and almost a member of the family, her influence over me continued, and even now there is no one whose approbation I value more highly.

There was no church at the Branch; still the community there and thereabout was not a godless one. In the first place, it was on a Methodist "circuit" and its minister came regularly to preach in the schoolhouse. Later he lived at the Branch, where a Sunday school was then started. The brother chosen to conduct it called on my mother to ask her to send me. I was present when he called, and at once informed him that I thought five days enough to spend in school. My mother, paying no attention to the interruption, to my surprise, when the man left, quietly assured him that I would be there; —and I was. I finally took to the School because it meant books to read, but I preferred that of the

Methodist service at the long low meeting-house, a mile from the Branch, where the Quakers of the surrounding country held their assemblies. I used to go out there alone and sit as quiet and solemn as they, even when no one was "moved" to break the silence, for the privilege of shaking hands at the close with the grave, but kind, old men who were present. I heard very little among the Quakers or the Methodists that left a lasting impression, except the text of a sermon preached at the funeral of one of my father's teamsters, killed in an accident, of whom I was very fond. It was: "Be ye also ready, for in such an hour as ye think not the Son of Man cometh." It haunted me for years, and even now it often casts a shadow over my early recollections.

A NEW HOME

The year 1857 was a fateful one for many. My grandfather was among those who found themselves in a critical financial condition. My father, to be able to help him, disposed of his business and bought a farm on the outskirts of the village of Remsen, two or three miles from Prospect and only four from his birthplace. He then took in hand his father's affairs and, by the skilful handling of their common resources, came through the panic without serious loss for either of them.

Our removal to Remsen marked the beginning of a new period in my life. In the first place, whereas, before this I had known nothing about anything that could be called work, I now had more or less serious duties, for, although my father did not himself manage the farm, the tenant, Miss Underhill's father, was given to understand that my brothers and I—there were now three of us and a sister—went with it, and that he might use us when he needed our help as well as that of his own boys. There were times, of course, when we were unhappy under this arrangement, but I, for my part, finally found that the opportunity to learn, as I then did, the use of my hands and the resources of the country was a great blessing, and I can still say that the results have been of unqualified advantage to me all my life.

There is another respect in which the new location proved more advantageous to me than the old one. At West Branch we were eleven miles from the nearest railroad; which I can remember to have seen but once or twice before we moved. We had, to be sure, a fine plank-road, and the stagecoach, whose arrival was an event "new every morning and fresh every evening," but there was nothing great or wonderful about a stagecoach. A train of cars, on the other hand, with its smoking, shrieking engine, was a stupendous manifestation, with

which, although I saw it several times a day,—the railroad ran for a mile through the farm,—I never became so familiar with it that it ceased powerfully to stimulate my imagination.

For the first few years after we removed to Remsen my educational advantages were no better than they had been at Branch; for, although we lived in the village, the farm lay mostly in an adjoining district, and it was the school in this district which my father helped to support, and to which, therefore, his children were expected to go. Now, the people in the district were nearly all comfortable farmers, but, as they had not many children and were inclined to frugality, they made but modest appropriations for education. The result was that the teacher, whether the man in the winter or the woman in the summer, who was usually without much ability or experience, seldom stayed more than one term or encouraged us to go beyond the common branches. There was, however, now and then an exception. I remember one such with especial tenderness and gratitude. I must have been about fourteen when she took our school for the summer, an age at which, if there is any mischief or meanness in a boy, it is apt to show itself. She was the daughter of a clergyman who had a wide reputation as a preacher and the editor of a Welsh periodical, and she herself had been carefully

educated. But she was not much, if any, larger than I, and so timid that she must often have found it a heavy "cross" to open the school with some verses from the Bible and a brief prayer, as she did every morning. I am sure I gave her more than a little anxiety, as, for example, when, after she had punished (very gently) my sister for whispering, I, merely to embarrass her, came forward with the confession that I, too, had whispered, and thus forced her to punish me. In the end, however, she conquered me, and so completely that I became her most devoted pupil, for she not only taught me what religion meant but made it lovely and attractive.

About this time my father and mother renewed their religious vows. They had both been reared as Methodists, and my father had always generously contributed to the support of that communion,—at the Branch the donation for their minister had more than once been held at our house,—but the cares of business and politics—he had served one term in the State Legislature—had so engrossed his time and attention that he had neglected his religious duties. I very distinctly remember when, as he expressed it, he "rebuilt the family altar." One morning, after breakfast, he asked us all to come into the living-room for a few minutes.

When we were gathered there he first, with tears

in his eyes, confessed that he had failed in his duty to God and to us and begged us to forgive, as he felt that God had done, his remissness. Then after a few verses from the Bible and a hymn, he put up the first prayer I had ever heard from his lips. His humility and earnestness so deeply affected me, that, as soon as possible I rushed from the room, and it was some time before I could dry my eyes and go about my work. Of course, from that day I was constantly reminded of my personal duty to my Maker, but it was some time before I was moved to take any public steps in the matter.

I have referred to the railroad and the effect of the rushing trains. It was powerful, but, as I never actually rode any distance on them, they did not, so far as I can recollect, much enlarge my ideal world. The same seems to have been true of geography, which was my favorite study that summer term of my fourteenth year under Miss Everett. It was practically a series of exercises in mnemonics, and not of adventures in the hitherto unknown.

The next winter, however, my eyes were to some extent opened. I was having my last term in the district school. The teacher was a rising young man who was preparing for the Methodist ministry. He had studied in the academy at Prospect, and had taken at least one term of Latin. When he found that I had gone over all the subjects studied in our district, some of them more than once, he suggested that I take Latin. As my father made no objection, he secured a grammar (Andrews and Stoddard) and a reader (Andrews) and we began our lessons. He was not a remarkable teacher: it was not necessary that he should be, for I was so eager to get on that I was willing to spend any

amount of time and thought on my work and he had little to do but hear me recite. The result was that, by the end of the term I had mastered the paradigms and the syntactical parts of the grammar and read many pages of Latin, including the fables of Æsop; in fact, done nearly as much in quantity, I afterwards learned, as I should have been expected to do at most schools in two terms. Meanwhile—and this is the important part of the story—my teacher, who was preparing for college, had told me his plans and gone so far as to suggest to my father that I go with him to the Seminary where he intended to finish his preparation. Thus I came to know that there were schools on schools and timidly to dream of fields of knowledge of which three months before I had hardly suspected the existence.

I ought, of course, with this flying start, to have gone at once to Falley Seminary, the preparatory school in Fulton recommended by my teacher; but this was not to be. Though disappointed and, since my father was managing the farm himself, obliged to give the most of my time and strength to the work required by a large dairy, I did not despair or allow myself to grow rusty in my studies. I spent the evenings with my books, and sometimes took one with me when I saw a prospect of having a few minutes to myself during the day; for ex-

ample, when we were using one team with two wagons, and I knew that I could load one of the wagons and still have time to read a few lines of Latin before the man returned from the field with the other.

I ought here to confess that I was not ordinarily a rapid worker. This was partly due to the fact that I was small and not very strong, but quite as much to the pains I took with everything it fell to me to do. These facts were not always taken into account. Thus, when there began to be talk of making a minister of me, my grandfather who had a good deal of dry humor, remarked that I would "make a good man for an afternoon app'intment." My father, however, sometimes showed his appreciation of my conscientiousness. On one occasion, when he was comparing his three oldest boys, he said that when he wanted a thing done well and did not care how long it took, he sent me. This speech naturally pleased me at the time, also afterwards when, as sometimes happened, through stopping to pick stones off a meadow or put a fallen rail back upon a fence, I was belated.

I might, perhaps, have gone away to school when fall came, but for an event which had great significance, not only for me, but for all the young people of our village; namely, the appearance of a gentleman,—I use the word advisedly, because from

the first he impressed us by his cultivated manner, —who, after a brief canvass, opened a select school. As this gentleman was an old friend of my parents and the young people of the village and the surrounding country in numbers were enrolling as his pupils, it was not difficult for me to get permission to join them. The result was so satisfactory that, when I call the roll of my favorite teachers, Dean M. Jenkins is always of the number. In the first place, he introduced studies, like algebra, for which the district school made no provision; and, secondly, he made us feel the cultural value of education. I remember him with especial gratitude because he taught me that there was more in poetry than rhyme and metre, and showed an interest in me personally by lending me a copy of Scott's *Lady of the Lake*. He must also have recommended to me another easily intelligible writer, Longfellow, for the next summer I invested the last cent of my savings in a copy of his poetical works.

I was not the only one who profited by the work of Mr. Jenkins among us. His pupils generally appreciated it. In fact, the whole community felt his influence. This showed itself in the Good Templar's Lodge, which served the purpose of a literary society, also in a general interest in books and reading. There were in the village at that time—it was during the Civil War—an unusual number

of young unmarried women. Some of them became my friends, lending me books and inviting me to their homes. The natural effect of such companionship was to increase my fondness for good literature and, at the same time, to prevent me from attaching myself to men or boys whose influence would have been harmful. They did me "good and not evil" as long as I remained in Remsen. The least I can do, therefore, is to pay them this heartfelt tribute.

A CHANGEFUL COURSE

I had two terms in the Select School, then, because Mr. Jenkins no longer headed it, besought my father to let me go to Falley, and he finally consented. My first term there was that of the winter of 1862–3. The Principal at the time was John P. Griffin, a teacher, in his day, as successful in the employment of the ruling educational methods as any in the country. He required absolute exactness in his students. When one of them attempted to excuse an imperfection, he used to say, "almost right is always wrong." It might seem impossible for anyone with every recitation marked on a scale of ten, to get a perfect standing; yet, strange as it may seem, there were always some who, even in his classes, achieved it. They were encouraged to try for it because they knew that he would

do his part, and that, if he could, he would make them all successful. He was also a very strict disciplinarian. He based his practice in the matter on the sincere conviction that, as he said, he stood to his students *in loco parentis,* and that, therefore, it was his duty to guard and guide them in their conduct as well as in their studies. Many were restive under this really benevolent watchfulness; others positively resented it. They did not like to have him suddenly appear in their rooms without knocking or meet them wandering out of bounds in study hours. Now and then one tried to bait him, like the young man suspected of using liquor, who brushed his teeth with bay rum just before calling at the office.

I have dwelt on Professor Griffin's ideas on education and discipline as the chief factor in the success of his Seminary. Now, as I recall the impression made by the institution as a whole, I feel that perhaps I have not done either it or its worthy head justice. It has occurred to me as a singular fact, that, although the Principal himself, by the sternness of his requirements, often repelled his students, the Faculty, seven or eight in number, always consisted of persons who were not only excellent teachers but genial and attractive ladies and gentlemen. Of course, they helped to bring and keep students, but he certainly deserved credit, not

only for keen insight and wisdom in the choice of his helpers, but for a tolerance which enabled them, without loss of self-respect or individuality, to remain for years in his employ.

My first term at Falley was a memorable one, especially because it started me on a course which, whether long or short, would be definite and progressive, taught me regular habits of study, and clarified my ideas concerning scholarship. For the progress made in the last respect I was indebted to Professor Griffin himself, who was one of my teachers. The result of that term with him, however, was not clear gain; for the subject was Latin and, although he prided himself, and justly, on his skill in handling it, in my case this skill was misapplied, because, taking for granted that I had done only the usual amount of work in my one term, he put me into his second class and drilled me three more months on the first pages of Andrews' Reader, which I already knew almost by heart. Consequently it was another year, the third after I began the study of Latin, before I was permitted really to taste the flavor of the language; when I had acquired so great a dislike for it that I have never been able to enjoy any of its famous literature except the Odes of Horace, and I have sometimes wished that he might have been born in some other country than Italy.

Tiresome as I found the relentless drill on the subjunctive, the *oratio obliqua,* etc., it did not prevent me from doing conscientious work, even in Latin. Consequently, when I went home in the spring, I was pretty well satisfied with myself and eager to continue my studies. I begged to be allowed to return for the next term, but my father refused his consent: which I could not understand, as he was prospering and I had heard him criticise his father for not encouraging him to get a liberal education. Indeed, I was very unhappy over the matter and shed many bitter tears in my mother's lap as she was trying to comfort me. Sometimes I gave way to angry and resentful feelings and they only increased my wretchedness. I became so desperate that, one day, I remember, I went to a grove back of the house and spent some time praying that I might have my desire, finally promising that, if my prayer was answered, I would thenceforth try to lead a religious life. It was not answered at once, but the next winter I returned to the Seminary, and I was so grateful that I did not hesitate about fulfilling my vow.

There was nothing spectacular about my conversion. Soon after the beginning of the term I went to the weekly meeting in the Chapel and, when an opportunity was given, made my purpose known. Professor Griffin, deeply interested, after the meet-

ing advised me to go with one of the older students to a Methodist church, where special services were in progress. I went and there repeated my confession. Thereupon my case was made a subject of prayer. I also prayed for myself, but it was not until I reached my room and had retired for the night that, as I lay perfectly submissive to the divine will, my mind was flooded as with light, with the conviction that my offering was accepted. From that time to this, I have never doubted that I then and there came into a new relation with my Heavenly Father. In the spring, therefore, when I went home, I was baptized and admitted to the church by the local Pastor, a devout man, who was yet so human and lovable that, the better I knew him, the more sacred and attractive became the calling of the Christian minister.

The experience that I have described proved a blessing to me in more ways than one. In the first place, I was thenceforth at peace with myself. I also found myself in more nearly perfect accord and fellowship with those with whom I was most closely associated. Thus undisturbed from within or without, I took greater pleasure in my work and made greater progress with it. Naturally, as the term neared its close, I began to beg to be allowed to return for the next, promising that, if I might, I would board myself, that is, live in a private family,

where I could provide my own food, but have it cooked for me, and thus reduce my expenses considerably below the amount I was paying at the Seminary. Fortunately the young man with whom I began Latin, who was coming back, not only spoke for me, but offered to room with me, thus depriving my people of their last excuse for withholding their approval. I am sure I was very happy that term, for, when I try to visualize my surroundings, I see myself in a maze of cherry trees, with their delicate blossoms or their delicious fruit, and when I attempt to recall something that interfered with my happiness, the only thing of the kind that I can remember is the effect upon me of the useless energy I put into the only game of baseball in which I ever participated. I could hardly move without severe pain for a week.

I spent the long vacation helping on the farm, and, in the fall, instead of continuing my studies, I took a school a few miles from home and spent the winter in teaching it. I was then in my nineteenth year and small for my age, and the school, in which I had been led to expect twenty pupils, grew until there were forty-three, one several years older and several considerably larger, than I; but I knew that I was qualified to teach them and that in the matter of discipline the Trustee would unhesitatingly support me. In this confidence I put my

heart into my work and, taking advantage of the custom of "boarding around," I made myself so thoroughly at home in the community, that I had no serious difficulty. The Trustee was so well pleased that, at the end of the term, he paid me twenty-five instead of twenty dollars a month for my services.

Having now money of my own, I made all haste to resume my studies, not however at Fulton, but, at the suggestion of my father, at Whitestown, the place where he had studied, which was much more convenient. There I began Greek, alone, as I had commenced Latin, but with a teacher who was as thorough as he was enthusiastic. We made such progress that, at the end of a month, we had finished the paradigms and I was anticipating the pleasure of making the acquaintance of some Greek author, when, unfortunately, I was taken severely ill and had to go home to recuperate.

In the fall, when I returned to Fulton, remembering my experience with Latin, I took care to make clear to the professor of Greek, not how long I had studied the language, but how far I had gone in it. He gave the case a little thought and, being constitutionally lenient, surprised me by announcing that since he had no class in the Greek Reader, he would put me into one that was beginning the Anabasis. Of course, I had to work

hard at first to hold my own with the rest of the class; but it paid, for I not only made unexpected progress in Greek but I taught myself, what I have since repeatedly demonstrated, that the proper method in teaching languages is not to cram the beginner with grammatical material for which he has no use, but to allow him to read as soon as he can distinguish the various forms of inflected words; and learn the rules of syntax as well as increase his vocabulary from concrete and constantly recurring illustrations: in short, that the sooner and faster he can read, provided he does his work thoroughly as he advances, the better.

I learned another lesson of some value the following term. I had expected to return to the Seminary, but, at the last moment, my father suggested that I spend the winter in study at home. At first it did not seem to me possible to make much progress without teachers, but when he offered me the best room in the house for a study, with plenty of wood and all the books I needed, taken with the prospect, I yielded. The result surprised me. In the first place, being my own master, and not obliged to give any time to anything else, even reciting, I made better progress than I could have made at school; but, better still, I learned to command myself, to fix my mind on a given subject and pursue it at any length of time, a power, the pos-

session of which best accounts for any success I may have achieved in my profession.

This was in 1865-6. The next winter I returned to the Seminary, and in the spring finished my preparation for college; but, unfortunately, I had worked so hard these two terms and suffered so much from anxiety lest, after all, I should not be able to go, that when, just before I graduated, it was decided in the affirmative, I was in no condition to continue my studies. Thereat I was so completely discouraged that I actually abandoned the idea of completing my education, and, being now of age, instead of going home took a position as bookkeeper in a manufacturing establishment in Fulton. Thus in a day my plans and prospects were completely changed; but the suddenness and completeness of the change had left me no time for regret or suspense, and that was something for which to be thankful.

I kept books for about three months. At the end of that time my health was so much improved that I felt able to go home and take the village school. It was a large school, so large that I had to have an assistant; some of the older scholars had been my playmates; but again I put my heart into my work and I was more than repaid for the outlay.

How completely I had readjusted myself to what I supposed to be the requirements of my health is clear from two facts, that, when I finished the term, I turned my salary for the winter in great part over to my father, to reimburse him as far as I could for the expense of my schooling, and that I proceeded at once to look for another mercantile position, which I found with Spencer, White and Co., a wholesale and retail dry goods house in Rome, N. Y.

The duties of my position, although they kept me at my desk pretty constantly six days of the week, were really very light, so that I had a good deal of spare energy for evenings and Sundays. Fortunately I soon became acquainted with a number of young men connected with the principal

Methodist church of the city, whose pastor was a vigorous personality and, on occasion, a powerful preacher. They lost no time in introducing me to a larger circle, including the young ladies of the church, so that, from the start, I had no lack of good society. Moreover, since almost all of these young people were active in the church, it was not long before I myself had plenty to do. Indeed, as time went on, I took upon myself more than I ought to have undertaken. This, I find from a letter to my mother, was my program for Sunday toward the end of the year: I heard two sermons, led the choir, attended two prayer-meetings at the First Church, and conducted a prayer-meeting and a Sunday school at a mission two miles from the city. I wonder I did not collapse under such a load; but my enthusiasm, with now and then a little help from the doctor, carried me through.

These religious activities, into which I was really forced, naturally attracted attention, and my friends, sometimes in my hearing, began to say that I was "cut out for a minister." I did not agree with them, for what I considered the best of reasons; namely, that from a child I had had a decided distaste for public speaking and used to bribe my teachers, when I could, to excuse me by writing two compositions for each declamation re-

quired. Finally, however, there came a time when I felt that I must face the question whether I would try to preach the Gospel if I were made to see that it was my duty. It was in the fall of 1868 that I came to this decision. A little later I wrote my father that, after finishing my year at Rome, I expected to prepare myself for the ministry, and asked him if he would help me. My plan then was to go directly to the Theological School in Boston; but the President, Dr. Warren, when I wrote to him for information, very strongly urged me to go to college, even if I could take but one course, and Professor Griffin, who happened to be in Rome about that time, endorsed his recommendation. I therefore decided to go to Remsen in the spring, spend the summer on the farm, reviewing the requirements for admission as far as I could in my spare time, and enter Wesleyan University in the fall. Thus, as it seemed to me, providentially, after wandering two years, I was brought back into my original course, but with a clearer vision of a worthier goal.

I made many friends in Rome, some of whom I valued very highly. One of them was Henry S. Ninde, a brother of the Bishop, a manysided man who, when I made his acquaintance, was, by his efficiency, making a reputation for the politician who held the office of Postmaster. Later he

went into the work of the Young Men's Christian Association, where he was to win a finer one for himself. He has not, however, been a mere secretary, but at heart a poet, embroidering with beautiful thoughts the simplest duties of his calling. It is a great thing to fall into the hands of such a man; he sees in one so much more than one dares suspect in one's self. It was he who, every Sunday in the winter of 1868-9, led Warner, a husky brother from the rolling mill, and me through the mud or snow out to the mission at Stanwix, beguiling the way with such talk, that, by the time we reached our destination, we felt like talking and sometimes surprised ourselves at it. He helped me, I am sure, to face the probability of spending my life in the ministry.

There was another, an older man, who, at a critical stage in my theological course, gave me the courage to make an important decision. This was Mr. White, of the firm whose books I was keeping. He was a quiet, reticent gentleman, but a merchant of great experience. He it was who bought our goods and served most of our choicest customers. It was a lesson to see him handle the cheapest fabric with his long slender fingers for the humblest customer. He touched it as delicately as if it were worth times the price he was asking, which was always its honest value. He was rather

brusque with his clerks, and sometimes teased them, especially if he was beginning to like them. I naturally tried to please him, but, not understanding his ways, it was some time before I felt comfortable in his company. Indeed, I hardly knew how I stood with him until my year was drawing to a close, when he cordially favored a proposal that I stay another month, to give the books a thorough examination, adjust the accounts of the partners, and prepare a new agreement for them. When my work was done and the showing proved to be decidedly in his favor, he did not attempt to hide his satisfaction, and from that time onward I was his "boy" and a welcome guest in his family. It was he who, several years later, when I was finishing my course in Boston and wondering whether I should go to Germany to fit myself to teach the Old Testament, settled the question for me by offering to loan me half the sum I needed for the purpose.

The third of my friends who helped to make my year in Rome memorable was a young lady. She was at school most of the time, but so popular was she in the circle into which I had been received that, when she came home for her first vacation, I was prepared to admire her. I found her even more sunny and sensible than I had anticipated, and not prejudiced against me by the fact that I was thinking of the ministry. Thenceforward it was the old

story. The next time she came home our regard for each other, kept alive by correspondence, had ripened into an attachment which neither of us took pains to conceal. We began to plan for our future life-work. Our dream of usefulness, however, was all too brief, for, when she graduated, she almost immediately went into a decline, and within a year she had passed to her reward; yet not until her interest and approval had given to my plans a sacredness which held me to them, although it was ten years before they were fulfilled. Therefore among Roman names I cherish with peculiar tenderness hers, a name which fifty years ago every one knew and loved as Mollie Harvey.

IN COLLEGE

In September 1869 I finally reached Middletown and, walking up High St. to a chorus of katydids, humbly applied for admission to Wesleyan University. "Humbly," I say, because I had been more than two years out of school, and during the summer I had had very little time to refresh my memory on the requirements for admission. Moreover, I remember that I had never taken a high mark on examinations. I was really so uncertain whether I should pass the test before me that I left my trunk unpacked until I heard that I had passed, with a recommendation (which I ignored) that I review Latin composition. I have always believed that this report was based not on my papers, but, at Professor Griffin's suggestion, on my record at Fulton: and this seems to me to have been only fair under the circumstances. It certainly would have been unjust to reject or even condition me, since, although I was rusty, I had the training required for the work to be done and it would be a matter of only a few weeks before my ability would have to be admitted.

Wesleyan University, when I entered, was still a

comparatively small institution, but its friends had recently come pretty generously to its assistance, and it had entered upon a period of more rapid development. Its Faculty, also, was small; but it was composed of men who, although they had written little, and therefore were not widely known, were thorough scholars and, most of them, each in his way, highly esteemed teachers. Besides, they were noble Christian gentlemen, in whose homes students who appreciated genuine culture were always kindly received. I reckon that I profited as much from their personal influence as I did from their work in the classroom.

I was now old enough to understand the value of a college course, and I laid my plans to get the most possible out of it. I resolved:

1. To devote myself to the regular curriculum, ignoring extra courses and prize contests.

2. To give to all the required subjects my best endeavor without regard to my natural preference respecting either the subjects themselves or the instructors by whom they were offered.

3. To keep myself in condition to do my best from day to day to the end of the course.

I also, from the start, had a definite method of study:

1. I made written translations of all the Latin and Greek of the first year.

2. After each recitation, while my mind was on the subject of it, I began the preparation of the next lesson on the same subject.

3. In the case of lessons which consisted of a continuous discussion, like history, I first went through them, carefully analyzing them into sections, and then studied them section by section, as much as possible without the aid of the book.

4. I made it a practice not to retire at night until I was prepared on all the lessons of the next day.

5. I had a system of reviews by which, during the term,I prepared myself, without cramming for the examinations at the end.

Naturally, at first, on account of my rustiness, I had to work pretty strenuously, but after a few weeks I found, not only that I was meeting any demands upon me, but meeting them more and more easily; also that my health, so far from suffering, was actually improving. I therefore came to the conclusion, which has often enough been verified, that there is nothing more healthful than regular intellectual employment.

The matter of exercise was not so easy to manage as I had anticipated. At first I walked a couple of miles morning and evening; but, when winter set in, it required so much courage at times to face the weather, that the game seemed hardly worth the candle. I was advised to go to the gymnasium;

but, after nearly breaking my neck two or three times, I decided to look for a less dangerous form of exercise. Fortunately there later came to me a chance to put into practice my knowledge of gardening, and I eagerly took charge of two gardens; where I found exercise in which there was not only health but productive service and some financial profit.

The second year I was carrying my studies so comfortably that, on being again invited to take the school at Remsen, I gave the winter to this form of productive service. In so doing, of course, I lost the benefit of the training of the classroom, but, with the aid of the annual reviews, which were then a feature of the Wesleyan system, I succeeded in making a tolerably good showing on the subjects which I had missed. I did not repeat this experience, but, having some time to spare, and wishing, so far as possible without injury to my proper interests to pay my own expenses, I took a place as tutor in a private family which I was fortunate enough to retain until the end of my course. It was desirable in more than one respect. In the first place, it afforded me an opportunity to gratify my fondness for children. I was already on familiar terms with those in the families of the professors and, as chorister in the Methodist Sunday School, more or less acquainted with a much larger number;

but the former I saw rather seldom, while the latter I saw only beyond arm's length. Now I was brought into almost daily contact with three little people whom I was permitted, not only to teach, but to love, and whose love I was also at liberty to win. Then, too, through the Stileses, I became a member of the local Shakespeare Club and thus came to know some of the best people of Middletown and to appreciate the works of our greatest English poet, as I probably should not have learned to do in the classroom; for those were the days before Professor Winchester had created an English department for his Alma Mater.

I hope I have not said so much of the side lines of thought and activity in which I was interested as to suggest a suspicion that I was neglecting my college work, for that was not the case. I was, in fact, as conscientious in the preparation of my daily lessons as I had been in my Freshman year; but I had since that brought myself to a stage of training that enabled me to do a given amount of mental work in half, or less than half, the time it used to require, and I was simply using the surplus in acquiring some other elements of a liberal culture. I cannot remember that I "cut" any recitations for pleasure's sake more than once, and that was so curious a case that I may be pardoned for giving it a few lines. Our Sunday school was going on a

picnic down the river. I had decided that I could not afford to go, but, as I had the time, I went to the dock to see the children off. Of course, I was importuned to go, but I refused—until the last minute. Then I suddenly began to wonder whether I was not becoming a slave to a system, an automaton, and, to prove that I was still a free agent, I deliberately went aboard the boat and had a delightful outing. But this was not the end of the matter. A few days later I was invited to call at the office of the President, who, ignoring the psychological aspect of the case and various other, as it seemed to me, palliating circumstances, reproved me as roundly as if I had been the chronic offender to whom he once said, "Mr.——, I shall be glad when you graduate." I cannot to this day explain his severity, unless he had formed too good an opinion of me and was disappointed to find me unworthy of it. But, if so, why did he never afterward show any lack of confidence in me?

I have said of the members of the Faculty that they were thorough scholars. I could not say that they were all equally esteemed as teachers, for there were students in my day who would not have subscribed to such a statement. I could, however, have said for myself that there was not one of them of whom I could not speak with the sincerest respect and gratitude. The fact is, that the one who, be-

cause he was not a college man and did not understand students and their traditions, was least popular, was precisely the one whom I knew best and to whom I was more indebted in my preparation for the next stage in my education than to any of the others. First, he knew Boston and he told me enough about it to make me eager to see it. If I shrank from undertaking a post-graduate course, I had him as an example of what an earnest student by hook or by crook could do for himself, even with a handicap, in such a centre of culture. Finally, when I went to him with some theological questions, he simply told me that they would yield to time and thought, and I ceased to worry about them. He himself did his own thinking and stood by the results of it. Of this he gave me proof when, on one occasion, he told me of being invited to finish a commentary, but given to understand that he would be expected, in his interpretation of the book in question, to conform to the well-known views of the General Editor, he replied that he always let the biblical authors speak for themselves and that he would not be a party to the violation of that principle. This declaration affected me like an electric shock. I have never recalled it without a thrill of admiration for the man, George Prentice, who, nearly fifty years ago, had the faith and courage to make it.

This part of my story would be incomplete without the mention of one more man who made a deep and lasting impression upon me during my college course. It was Edward Everett Hale. He came to Middletown soon after I entered to deliver an address before one of the societies. His subject was "Noblesse oblige." The program was so arranged that he had very little time to develop it, but in those few minutes he drove home the thought, that the professional man must serve for the sake of serving and not chaffer with the world over his compensation, with such force that I have never been able to forget it. He met me, so to speak, again as I was leaving college, and in his story *Ups and Downs* taught me another valuable lesson, namely, that one should not look for great tasks, but do the next thing and in doing it fit one's self for a better. I have found this rule the best guaranty of steady employment.

A BEGINNING IN THEOLOGY

I graduated from Wesleyan University in 1873 and entered the School of Theology of Boston University in the fall of the same year. My father did not approve of this move; he said I already had training enough for the ministry; but he finally gave me money enough to start me on my new course. I reached Boston one afternoon in September and almost immediately began to feel at home in the city. This feeling was to some extent due to the fact that, as I stood outside the station, wondering which direction I must take to get to Bromfield Street, a well-dressed gentleman, who almost seemed to be waiting for me, not only offered to direct me, but finally saw me well on my way to the School. I appreciated his kindness to such an extent, that, taking it as the proper Bostonian spirit, I resolved that, if I were prospered in my errand, I would cultivate it. As a matter of fact, I seldom, even now, see anyone in need of direction without being reminded of my own experience and prompted to follow the example of my guide of long ago.

Since the School of Theology was removed from

Concord, N. H., to Boston its friends have made much of its site, emphasizing the facts, that it was a department of a University and that site of the University was Boston. This was shrewd advertising, for Boston has always been a name to conjure with, especially in the West, as shown by the fact that, of the seventeen men in my class, eleven were from that part of the country. Indeed, the city did more than bring students from all quarters; it helped to hold them when they had come by the advantages outside the Theological School which it offered, including opportunities to earn their living while they were pursuing their course.

The importance of the supplementary educational advantages will appear on a nearer view of the Theological School. Its Faculty consisted of men of ability and prominence in the Methodist Church, but there were then only four of them and the method of instruction did not allow them to make the most of themselves. This method, the one by written and dictated lectures, although it enabled the teacher to put his ideas clearly and the student to get them correctly, was so slow that little ground was covered, especially if any time was taken for discussion or supplemental exercises. Thus, even when a certain amount of reading was required, which was not always the case, the work which the student had to do from day to day was

really very light, so light that a man with college training, if he had nothing else of interest or importance with which to busy himself, could hardly feel that he was making much progress. Such men were encouraged to take elective courses in other departments of the University, until the method of instruction was modified and the theological work stiffened, when this privilege was correspondingly limited.

I had taken Hebrew in college. I, therefore, had more spare time than most of my fellow students, but I did not, like them, go to the College of Liberal Arts for employment. In the first place, I pressed on with my Hebrew and, without a teacher, read during the first year the whole of the Hexateuch. I had planned to take Sanskrit at the College, but the course was postponed for a year. I was so disappointed that, by the advice of a linguist whose acquaintance I had made, I went to work on it by myself and studied it as regularly and faithfully as if it had been a required course. These two "electives," as I reckoned them, and a private pupil to whom I gave ten hours a week, gave me sufficient additional work, but they still left me time for the cultural advantages that seemed most desirable.

It took us some time in those days to bring ourselves to the reasonable attitude in such matters, there was so much to see and hear all about us. For

example, the windows of some of our rooms opened on one in the rear end of Music Hall, which was always open when there was a lecture or concert. The hall where the lectures of the Lowell Institute were given was just around the corner in one direction and Tremont Temple in another. In these places were heard the great artists, authors, orators and scientists of our own and other countries. Some of them were Boston men and women, while others lived so near that one might meet them any day in the street or on the Common, or see and hear them in a public meeting. But the most delightful occasions were those on which they came to speak informally to us students, especially if they were among the famous preachers of the city.

There were then three very popular preachers in the city. The one with the largest following was the Rev. George C. Lorimer of Tremont Temple. He was said to have started in life as an actor. At any rate, he looked like one and he had a dramatic manner in the pulpit, or rather, as he strode back on the platform from which he delivered his sermons. He was a man of strong convictions, and he had a positiveness in expressing them which always found favor with earnest people. His more critical hearers could not always follow him, but they did not doubt his sincerity or question the value of his influence in his parish and in the community.

The pastor of Park St. Church was a man of very different type. In the first place, he had a figure which attracted notice on the street, and, when he arose in church at the afternoon service and, pushing aside the box pulpit as if it were a chair, straightened himself, put his hand into the breast of his coat, and began his sermon, the congregation were prepared to admire, not only him, but anything that he had to say to them. He approached his subject from the personal standpoint and clothed it with vivid and unconventional language. It was the kind of sermon that might be expected from one who boasted that he prepared himself for the pulpit behind a locked door, with no helps but the Bible and Webster's Dictionary. There was a certain freshness about it. Indeed, Mr. Murray could, and often did, present ideas familiar to any student of theology as if they were new discoveries. Those who, like the ancient Athenians, were on the lookout for "some new thing" came flocking to hear him, and the church was filled to the doors. The preacher was naturally flattered, but the deacons were by no means satisfied. "It is true," they said, "the congregation has grown amazingly, but the collections have not increased in proportion": and the preacher himself finally found that the people he attracted were not

of those by whom churches were founded and supported.

The third of the preachers I had in mind, Phillips Brooks, was very unlike either of the first two. In the first place, although he was very large, and that fact did not escape notice wherever he went, he never thought of his commanding stature as an element in a preacher's success. In fact, one cannot imagine him taking stock of such things. On the other hand he must sometimes have been painfully conscious of certain defects which would naturally hamper a public speaker; for he was so nearsighted that, it was said, he could not see his congregation, he had a slight impediment in utterance which forced him to speak very rapidly, and his throat was so sensitive in those days that he often finished his sermon in almost a whisper. Yet Huntington Hall, where he then preached, was always crowded, and many students were among his most frequent and appreciative hearers. They admired his sermons as sermons because they dealt with vital truths and problems, which he made his own and illustrated by familiar experiences in real life. When he announced his text, and, as his habit was, hesitated a minute, it seemed as if he shrank from telling what he thought about it, but, once started, he poured out his message, as if he could

not keep it to himself, but must share its helpful, hopeful burden with us. When he was done we felt that we had looked into the heart of a saint, but a very human one and one whom we should be glad to resemble. Having often had this feeling, I was not surprised when, years later, a young man, now himself among the most widely known of American preachers, told me that he came to Boston to study law, but after hearing Phillips Brooks a few times, became convinced that the greatest thing in the world was the Gospel, and that the greatest work was that of preaching it to his fellow men.

The second year in a theological school, as in a college, is supposed to be the one that requires closest study, and that, therefore should bring greatest results. It was the most strenuous for me in various ways. First, I had to give more time to earning my expenses when I could get anything to do. I was fortunate enough in the beginning to get work in the School itself. It was the rule that only students who had studied Greek were admitted to the regular course, and only regular students were given free rooms in the dormitory. Now there were five among the newcomers who had thus been obliged to hire rooms outside. In their predicament I saw my opportunity. Going to the Dean, I asked him if he would admit these men into

the dormitory at once if I agreed to put them into the regular course after the holidays. He said he would. Then I went to the students and asked them if they would give me what they were paying for their rooms, provided I got them into the dormitory at once and into the regular course after the holidays; and they also answered in the affirmative. This three-cornered agreement having been concluded, the students came into the dormitory and I went to work to fulfil my part and incidentally to prove what I had long believed, namely, that half the time spent in acquiring languages was wasted. Well, to make a long story short, I put these men through a thorough course in the elements of Greek and made them read as much in the Gospel of Luke as their class had read during the term,—and they paid my expenses.

Then came a time such as I had never before known, a time when, seek where I would, I could find nothing by which I could earn a livelihood. I prayed as never before for help, but there was no answer. Finally I appealed to my father, but not until anxiety had brought me to the verge of nervous prostration, and I had gotten permission by doing double work to finish my course at the end of this second year. I finished my course as I had planned, but I did not graduate, for, when I least expected help, I secured a position as private secre-

tary to the Director of the New England Conservatory of Music, which made it possible for me, not only to finish my course without further anxiety about my finances, but, by the indulgence of the Faculty, to remain a third year and pursue a line of independent work.

The duties of my new position took four of the best hours of every day, but they did not prevent me from doing justice to my studies. That which I enjoyed most was systematic theology. It interested me because, as I have intimated, while in college, I had become more or less disturbed about the soundness of some of the theological views which I had inherited, and here was an opportunity, under capable guidance, to examine and, if necessary, correct them. I use the word "capable" advisedly, for I suppose that Dean Latimer, in whose province they belonged, was as competent to instruct me with reference to them as anyone in the Methodist Church. He had already won a reputation as a keen and careful thinker. He was also a deeply religious man and, therefore, not liable to allow theology to usurp the place of religion. Finally, he was remarkably tolerant, believing that the cause of truth could best be served by the freest interchange of opinion; and he conducted his classes on this principle. On one occasion, for example, when doubt was expressed

with reference to his interpretation of a certain doctrine, he permitted a discussion which lasted several days, with the most satisfactory results. I was so impressed by it that to this day, whenever I think of the good Dean, I see him as he sat smilingly ordering that memorable debate. I might add incidentally that on this occasion I held with the chair, while the leader of the opposition was a man who has long enjoyed the highest honor conferred by our Church.

I missed much, I have no doubt, by the irregularity of my course, for I never had any classwork in the Old Testament, and I had to prepare myself for the examinations for the whole of the third year with borrowed notebooks. I made good these losses as far as I could by private study. Thus, I gave a certain length of time every day to Hebrew, so much that, by the end of this second year, I must have read about two-thirds of the Old Testament in that language.

I think I did not change my plans and decide to teach instead of preaching this year; but I did very soon after returning to Boston for the third, when I devoted all my time not given to Dr. Tourgée to the study of the Bible in the original. I came to the decision suddenly and in connection with a very trifling incident. I was standing one evening at the street door hesitating about taking my con-

stitutional in the rain, when someone came down the stairs, laid his hand on my shoulder, and said, "Mitchell, how would you like to be a professor of theology?" I turned to see who it was who had spoken and found myself face to face with a member of the Faculty. He passed on without waiting for a reply or ever again referring to the matter; but from that moment it was as if I had been divinely called to the study and interpretation of the Scriptures.

I say "Scriptures," for, as I have intimated, I was then dividing my time mostly between the testaments, and there was nothing to my call to indicate which was to be my specialty. I was not, however, long in deciding between them. I chose the Old Testament, not because I was less fond of Greek than Hebrew,—the contrary was actually the case,—but because, at the time, I knew only one Methodist who could be called a Hebrew scholar, and he was so far advanced in years that, unless someone soon came forward, our Church would be left without a representative in that field. Moreover, I saw that the interest in the Old Testament shown in Europe was spreading to America, and I wanted to have a hand in the movement.

When I had come to this decision I lost no time in laying the whole matter before Dean Latimer, who had already been helpful to me on more than

one occasion. He not only approved my new departure, but encouraged me to hope that, when I had completed my training, there would somewhere be a place for me as a teacher.

I could not yet see how I should be able to go to Germany, but, I was so confident in my hopes, that I proceeded as if the funds were already provided; not only pushing on with renewed zeal in Hebrew and the Old Testament, but, for comparative purposes, beginning Arabic, without help, except in the pronunciation from a printer who had worked at the American plant in Beirut. I also put some time on Armaic, that I might read the parts of Daniel and Ezra in that language and thus finish the Old Testament, which I did before the end of the year.

This last year was a delightful one, not only because I could study what I would, and as intensely as I would, but because, meanwhile, at the Conservatory, I was in constant contact with one of the most inspiring men it was ever my fortune to know. At first my work was mainly with his correspondence and the programs, etc. of the institution; but, as we became better acquainted, since, although he thought clearly, he found difficulty in putting his ideas in writing, he more and more relied on me to formulate them for him. Sometimes, when we were at work at his desk, he would

suddenly say, "Come, Mitchell," and take me to his private room, where he would talk to me by the half hour on some musical topic. If he had in mind an article, I took notes; otherwise he was content to have me, as a layman, listen intelligently. One of the subjects nearest his heart was congregational singing, which he regarded as an essential part of a religious service, and constantly by articles and lectures recommended to the churches. His ideal, however, was a threefold combination such as he had organized at Music Hall for Mr. Murray, consisting of a quartet and a chorus of two hundred, backed by a congregation of three thousand, an oratorio in the grandest sense. When these all under his inspiring direction, lifted up their voices, the great building was shaken and some of the singers were almost overcome by the tremendous ensemble.

A STUDENT IN GERMANY

I have already recited how, when I was preparing to go abroad without knowing how I should pay my expenses, my faith was rewarded and the problem solved for me. That was in the spring of 1876. In June I left Boston and, on the Fourth of July, after a few days at the Exposition in Philadelphia, sailed from New York for Liverpool. On the voyage, made in an old liner, I was as miserable, it seemed to me, as one could be and live. Indeed, there were some of the passengers who, as they saw me lying on deck wrapped in my ulster, doubted whether I would ever see land. Fortunately among them was the Shakespearean scholar, W. J. Rolfe, who took an active interest in my condition and did what he could to make me comfortable. I got little help from the stewards, one of whom was so dense or so cruel that, when I complained of the vile odor in my stateroom, after considering the matter, explained that a lady who used great quantities of cologne had occupied the room on the voyage to America and that this lingering perfume was probably what I was smelling.

his party and gave me the benefit of his f
y with the country we visited and its as
s. On the first we went to Chester and,
ng at Blossoms, spent the afternoon adn
quaint city, leaving only in time to reach S
l by the last train.

'he next day was Sunday,—and such a Su
ent the early morning alone in the church
oying its restfulness and the sunlit land
ss the Avon. Later we all went to cl
, after the usual service, knelt over the
Shakespeare to partake of the commu
er dinner we saw Shakespeare's house ar
evening strolled by the footpath throug
ls to Ann Hathaway's cottage.

n Monday morning we took a carriage
and drove across the country, "the hea
gland," to Warwick, where, after seeing
le, I parted from my companions to go f
days to London and thence to the Conti

German was spoken. I had no sooner reached the city than I realized the need of giving the language further study; for, although I had given a year to it in college and attended a German church for some time in Boston, I found my vocabulary of every-day words so limited that I could not engage a room without an interpreter. Fortunately the agent at the station knew English, also a family in which, with his help, I was soon comfortably quartered, just outside the old city.

I next called on a lady who had been recommended to me as a teacher; but I found her terms too high for my limited ability. At this juncture it occurred to me that, like Dr. Hale's *Children of the Public,* I was surrounded by people who would be only too glad to help me if I knew how to secure their services. I resolved to begin with the family in which I was living, which consisted of a cellist at the theatre, his wife, and four children between five and fifteen. Frau Plock proved wonderfully helpful. She was always ready to listen to my stammering tongue and always able to catch my meaning before anyone else got an inkling of it. Moreover, she had a sweet voice and spoke so slowly and clearly that, looking into her motherly face, aglow with kindness, I caught her meaning when no one else could make me understand. Then, there were the children, especially

the third, a boy of six or seven, and the fourth, a dainty little lady of four or five. What delightful walks and romps and games we had! while they never suspected that they were teaching me, and I almost forgot that I was taking lessons.

As I grew more fluent in the language I ventured farther and farther from the family circle. I had to go into the city for my dinner. On leaving the restaurant I sometimes strolled about, going into a shop or two and inquiring for something that I was pretty sure not to find in such a place. Naturally more or less conversation followed. If, in the course of it, I took occasion to remark that I was an American, it could be indefinitely prolonged; for at that time Americans were popular in Germany and the people were eager for information about our country. Now and then I wandered beyond the limits of the city, stopping, whenever I came upon a farmer, to chat with him about his crops or anything else in which I found him interested. On Sunday I went to church to hear a preacher who spoke particularly intelligible German, and once during the week I played ninepins with a club of which my friend at the station was a member. All these people, young and old, were my teachers, and they helped me greatly, but I should not have profited as much as I did if I had depended entirely on them for instruction. I

spent the whole forenoon of every day except Sunday, first, in reviewing what I had learned in college, and then in a thorough study of a comprehensive grammar in German, with rapid reading in any book or paper that came within my reach. The result was, that, at the end of ten or eleven weeks, when I proceeded to Leipzig, I was able to understand all that was said to me and speak so well that I was more than once taken for a German. I had a little difficulty at first in taking lectures, but, by condensing into English and inserting the German words when I could, I soon became able to get the whole in the original.

There were many Americans in Leipzig in 1876. The greater number were at the Conservatory, but there was a noticeable sprinkling of them in the various departments of the University. The great lights in theology at that time were Delitzsch in the Old Testament, Luthardt in the New, and Kahnis in Dogmatics. Among their hearers were some English, Scotch and Irish, as well as American students. These three were as unlike as possible, in appearance as well as in their habits and methods. Professor Delitzsch was noticeably small of stature, little, if any over five feet in height; but he carried his head so well that, standing by himself, he looked taller. He wore a coat of a fashion, too, that added to his apparent height. He was very

fond of flowers, and often brought one with him, to enjoy its odor in the pauses of dictation. He was of a poetic temperament and a moderate liberal on the subject of the Scriptures. When I became acquainted with him he still clung to what was called the Supplementary Theory, teaching that the author of the basal element in the Hexateuch wrote in the Mosaic period, the Supplementer in that of Joshua or the Judges; but later he reconsidered the subject and adopted the Documentary Hypothesis. He was so genial and generous that he was a great favorite with the English-speaking students, who formed a kind of club to which he talked theology regularly every fortnight.

Professor Luthardt was tall and well built, with a graceful, dignified carriage. He was also a fine speaker. Indeed, some of the Americans went to hear him, not because they were interested in theology, but because they could understand him before they could any of his colleagues and it was a pleasure to listen to him, even if they did not know what he was saying.

Professor Kahnis was of lowly origin, and he showed it. He was heavily built, awkward in his bearing, and decidedly Saxon in his language. When he was lecturing he usually moved about uneasily, with a bunch of keys in his hands, sometimes backing against the blackboard and bringing

away an impression of whatever was written there on his coat. The students liked him, as he was so earnest and forceful, reminding one of Luther. Perhaps their interest in him was increased by the story current to the effect that his wife belonged to a noble family, the head of which refused to consent to the marriage until the presumptuous suitor, for her sake, had won recognition as a scholar.

I have already registered my objections to the German method as applied in the School of Theology of Boston University. I found it even more objectionable as employed by its originators. The German professor sometimes dictated his lecture and the student took as much of it as he could; but the latter was not required to be regular in attendance, or to pass a test on his notes unless and until he asked for a diploma. He could, therefore, and often did, neglect the lectures, except at the beginning and the end of the semester, and borrow or buy those taken by others when he needed them. Naturally he was liable to lose interest in his course and forego a diploma, or fail if he tried to pass an examination. I used to wonder what percentage of the students at Leipzig took a degree or passed any other test for which they professed to be studying. Certainly not so many as in an American institution, with its unremitting control, would take their diplomas.

When I matriculated at Leipzig I did not expect to take a degree; I did not hope to stay long enough for that purpose; but I did expect, in the two years for which I had made provision, to fit myself to teach the Old Testament in a reputable American institution, and I set to work in earnest to realize this expectation. To this end I took all the courses given by Professor Delitzsch and any others in the same line that promised helpfulness. The rest of my time I gave to Hebrew and the cognate languages.

When I first entered the University, of course, I felt somewhat awkward and helpless; but I soon became wonted, and thereafter I carried the work that I had undertaken without difficulty. After a while, as in college, I found that I had time to spare for outside things. I first made myself acquainted with the city and its surroundings, with their historical associations and monuments. When the season for such excursions closed I went regularly to concerts or the opera, feeling that I owed it to myself to cultivate a taste for music and that I should never have a better opportunity than this famous musical center was offering. And for so little! Why, as a student I could hear an opera, not very comfortably, to be sure, but I could hear one, for the ridiculous sum, in American money of eighteen cents! and I did hear the greatest of

them at that price. I felt it my duty, too, to learn something about the arts of painting and sculpture, and, not being satisfied with what I found in the local museum, I made pilgrimages in the vacations to Berlin and Dresden to see their great collections.

It was a fruitful year, that first one in Leipzig. But the intellectual and aesthetical advantages I then enjoyed are not all for which I look back to it with gratitude. I have yet to confess my indebtedness to the American, or, as perhaps I ought to say, English-speaking colony. Most prominent was the Rev., afterward Prof. Samuel Ives Curtiss, who maintained two weekly religious services in Leipzig, and who, with his noble wife, made us welcome on Monday evenings in his delightful home. There one met young men and women from all parts of the United States and the British Empire, including many earnest, but modest souls, who long since reached prominence in the callings for which they were then eagerly preparing. With some of these I formed friendships that supplied the sympathy and encouragement which the student in a strange land deeply appreciates. I therefore find a peculiar pleasure in reading their names and the record of their success in "Who's Who in America."

I spent the long vacation of 1877 partly in the country. I remember with most pleasure a walk-

ing trip in a party of six through Thuringia. We started from Rudolstadt and traveled leisurely by way of Ilmenau and Ruhle to Eisenach, where we spent several days. Then two of us returned by way of Erfurt, Gotha, and Weimar to Leipzig, making the distance to Weimar on foot, and the rest of it by rail, fourth class, with the market women. It was delightfully invigorating to travel on foot over the perfect roads mile on mile through fragrant spruce plantations, and very restful to sleep at the little inns in the villages where we spent our nights. When we reached Eisenach everything spoke of Luther; so, also, in Erfurt, while at Weimar Goethe and Schiller claimed our thoughts and commanded our admiration. What wonder that, when we reached Leipzig again, we were full of reverence for the land that had given these men birth, and congratulated ourselves that we were permitted to remain yet a while in it.

My program for my second year was much the same as for the first, except that I added to the languages thus far pursued Syriac and Assyrian. I had not, however, gone far in the subjects chosen before my course was suddenly interrupted and I found myself transformed from a student of theology into the advance agent of a concert company. It came about in this way. The Jubilee Singers of Fisk University, Nashville, after successful tours

in England and Holland, had come to Germany, intending to spend another year on the Continent. They made a beginning in Berlin, where they sang before the Emperor. Then they came to Leipzig. While there, the President of their university, who was with them, let it be known that he had failed to find a German who dared undertake the task of arranging five concerts a week in different places by the season, at the same time inquiring if there was an American in Leipzig who could meet these requirements. To my astonishment I was recommended and the position was offered me. At first I could not think of taking it. I was very loth to leave my studies. Besides, I was averse to traveling and entirely without experience of the kind I thought necessary to ensure success. My friends, however, advised me to accept, reminding me that I needed a change and suggesting that, if I would, the salary offered would enable me to stay a third year in Germany and take a degree. The latter of these considerations had such weight with me that I yielded and on the first of December began my new and strange duties.

I think that, if I had realized what was required by this undertaking, I should have been afraid of it. The fact is, I have often wondered how I managed to avoid a serious failure. I had to travel constantly, usually rising in one place, spending the

afternoon in a second, and sleeping in a third, thus in five months reaching most of the important centres from Hamburg to Geneva. During this time I arranged five concerts a week, a hundred in all, personally taking out the permits by the police, hiring the halls for the concerts, engaging the agents who sold the tickets, seeing the editors of the local papers about the advertisements and the editorial notices, engaging accommodations for the company in the hotels, visiting the musicians, the clergymen, and any other prominent persons who would naturally be interested in the concerts or the object for which they were given, and finally re-visiting each of the places where concerts had been arranged, to see if anything further could be done to make them successful; in short doing everything that was to be done except giving the concerts and paying the bills.

Such was my work. The difficulties in the way of success, in their variety and seriousness, can hardly be imagined by anyone who has not had them to meet. At first, of course, I stumbled pretty frequently in my use of the German language; but this was not so serious as the inability of most of the Germans to understand who the Singers were and what was their real object. Once we narrowly escaped trouble through the stupidity of an editor who ought to have known better. I

went to him, after having secured the use of a fine old church for the concert, and asked him to help us. "Of course I will," he promptly responded; "I've been in America, and I'll see that the church is crowded." He did, but by first representing the Singers as negro minstrels, and when, on my second visit, I showed him his error, publishing an explanation and endorsement of their actual mission that aroused universal interest. The audience, therefore, was large and very appreciative; but it was a German audience, and it did not occur to anyone, so far as I know, to allow himself to be moved, as not only Americans, but many in England and Holland had been, to do more than pay a very low admission fee for the education of the negro. In this case the audience was a popular one. Sometimes it was impossible to bring all classes together at any given place. In such cases the receipts were correspondingly limited. Thus, in Dresden the concert hardly paid expenses, because the king of Saxony, who condescended to attend it, would not appear except at a little hall in a hotel patronized by the nobility. Similarly in Prague "the proper place was so small that the prices for tickets had to be put above the reach of "the public." Finally, although the Singers did not lose money, as most traveling companies did that winter, their success was restricted and their tour considerably

shortened on account of the strained relations between Germany and Russia and the general opinion that war was imminent. At the end of my fifth month, therefore, I closed my labors at Basel, and, in spite of the strenuous life I had lived, returned to Leipzig, in the most nearly perfect health I had ever enjoyed, to resume my studies.

I remember Basel especially, not only because there my engagement came to an end, but because it was the only place where I had the slightest difficulty with authorities. I arrived there the second time on a Saturday evening, and, after registering at the office of the hotel where I stopped, went to my room to read the letters that had been forwarded while I was elsewhere in Switzerland. I had hardly begun to open them when there was a rap and a man rather unceremoniously entered and commenced to ask questions. I did not pay much attention to him at first, but I finally inquired what right he had to quiz me as he was doing; whereupon he threw back his coat, disclosing the badge of an officer, and explained that a forgery had been committed in Hamburg, that the forger, whose name was Mischel, had escaped to Switzerland, and finally, that the description of the fugitive fitted me so well that he was obliged to request me to come to a police station for an examination. I protested, of course, and showed my passport as well

as several letters, to prove that I was an American; but all in vain. In fact, he advised me in substance "tell it to the marines." There being nothing else to do,—it was now after nine in the evening,—I went with him, and, as there was no one at the nearest station, or at headquarters, to examine me, I was obliged to accept the hospitality of the city and go to bed,—a bag of straw and a horse blanket, —without my supper. It was not a pleasant experience, but my sense of humor sustained me, and when, in the morning, on being arraigned, I was identified by one of the most prominent men in the city, I rather enjoyed the eagerness with which the authorities sought to propitiate me, and their confusion when I informed them that I proposed to lay the matter before the American consul. I think I could then have gotten damages, if I had shown myself inclined to consider a financial offer: what I got through the consul and American minister was an elaborate apology from the Swiss government.

I had no sooner turned my face toward Leipzig than I began to plan what I should do about my studies. Since the spring semester was already well advanced, I felt that it would hardly pay to try to overtake the lecturers whom I wished to hear, but I did not on that account intend to let any of my time run to waste. Therefore, having learned

to set myself to work, on the next day after my arrival I began to collect material for my dissertation. My subject, suggested by Professor Delitzsch, was Final Constructions of Biblical Hebrew. It required, first, a careful reading of almost the whole of the Old Testament in the original, a thorough examination of every passage in which the idea of purpose in any of its varieties was discoverable, and the arrangement of the examples discovered according to the phases of the subject which they severally represented. This task was neither an easy one nor one to be finished in a hurry; but, being in the best of health, I did not shrink from giving to it my utmost ability and all the time that thorough treatment of it might make necessary. In the end I worked at it eight hours a day, six days a week, until the first of October, or just six months, to bring it to completion.

There are doubtless those who would think it hardly worth while to give so much time and effort to such a subject as I had chosen. I have never regretted the outlay, because, for one thing, I thereby reached results, positive and convincing, by which the Old Testament was made more intelligible and interesting. Moreover, as indirect results, I had acquired, not only increased familiarity with the Hebrew language, but considerable experience in methods of research and a degree of

independence in judgment; in other words, I had given myself a course of training for scholarly work which was of more practical value to me than all the lectures I had heard at the University.

My dissertation finished, I proceeded with the more direct preparation for taking a doctorate. First, since I knew that it would be some time, at the shortest, before the process could be completed, I resumed attendance upon lectures, choosing such as would be most helpful to me in my oral examination on Hebrew and Syriac, my major subjects, and Italian painting. At the proper time I presented my dissertation, but not before I had shown it to Professor Delitzsch, and then with some diffidence, because he objected to one point that I had made, and, when I insisted on it, warned me that my stubbornness would cost me my diploma. Not many German professors would have forgiven such a manifestation of American independence, but he probably changed his mind after a more critical reading. At any rate, not only was my work passed, but the sub-committee, who conducted the oral examination complimented me on its excellence. I suspect that it was the dissertation which got me my degree, for, as usual, I did not cram for the examination, and, to make matters worse, my landlady, in the goodness of her heart, gave me an unusually good dinner just before I went to meet

the committee,—with the usual effect on cerebration. I shall therefore always recall with appreciation the considerate as well as tactful way in which the chairman announced the result: "Mr. Mitchell, we congratulate you on having won your degree, as was to be expected from the character of your dissertation."

I got my degree in March, but, owing to the requirement that a doctor's dissertation, or a part of it, be published, I had to stay in Leipzig and struggle with my printer, who not only knew no English, and therefore made as many mistakes as possible, but had absolutely no idea of the value of time, and could not be induced to hurry. It was therefore May when I left for home and about the first of June when I reached America.

It was naturally a source of great satisfaction to me, that, when I returned, I brought with me a diploma from a famous university. It meant that I had won recognition as a possible scholar and that, other things being equal, I might look forward to a fairly successful career as a teacher. This, however, I must now confess, was not my only warrant for recalling the recent past with satisfaction and facing the future with cheerful confidence. In the fall of 1878, among the newcomers in Leipzig was an American lady in whom I at once became interested. I noted the simple black of her costume

and thought I saw a shade of sadness in her expression. I met her often during the winter and always with growing admiration tinged with sympathy. The better I knew her the more I enjoyed seeing her happy. I told a friend that I was going to banish the suggestion of sadness from her face. He warned me that it was a risky undertaking, but not being in a position to ask any woman to share my fortunes, and not, in my own opinion, having the qualities that would commend me, except as a friend, to the one in question, I could hardly believe that there was any danger. Thus we became friends, and, after a delightful holiday trip with several others to Berlin and Dresden, intimate friends. We did not, I think, know how much we had become to each other until the time drew near for me to leave her and return to America. Then, as I was trying to tell her how much I should miss her I learned to my surprise that in my eager efforts to make her happy, I had unwittingly won the high privilege of doing the same, if I could, for the rest of our mutual lives. From that moment, of course, life took on a new and larger meaning. While I remained in Leipzig she shared all my thoughts and plans, and, when I came home, I came to find a place where I could serve God with the woman he had given me.

MY FIRST AND ONLY PARISH

At the end of the biographical sketch appended to my dissertation I said: "I intend to return at once to America and place myself at the disposal of the Methodist Church, of which I am a member." When I reached home, knowing that there was as yet no opening for me in Boston, I began to look for some other position in which I could serve God and Methodism; but I looked in vain. Finally it occurred to me that perhaps I had mistaken the divine will and that after all I should not have gone into the ministry. To make full proof of my willingness to do my duty, whatever it might be, I offered myself to the Missionary Society. I was accepted and appointed to Japan; but when one of the Secretaries, on meeting me, learned how much time I had spent in preparation for educational work, he said that, as the position for which I was fitted had just been filled, it would be better for me to withdraw my application. I took his advice, but, although I never saw the foreign field, I have always felt that my experience as a candidate for it gave me a right to reckon myself a returned missionary.

As soon as I found myself again free to plan for myself I decided that, if in the meantime I found no place to teach, I would join the first fall conference that would take me and enter the regular ministry. I had not waited long before I saw a notice giving the date on which the Central New York Conference was to assemble. I wrote to the Presiding Elder by whom it was signed, asking him if he had a place for a man of my description in his district. He replied that his district was full and that he doubted if any men would be received into the Conference at the coming session. This was discouraging, but, in spite of the unfavorableness of the outlook, when the time came I went to Cortland, where the session was to be held, and applied for work.

I shall never forget that session. The President was Bishop Bowman. I was deeply impressed by his devout manner, the ability and earnestness of the members, and the importance of the interests that were discussed. In the end, especially as little attention was paid to me, except by a few of the older members whom I happened to know, I became so humble that I was willing to take either of two or three unimportant places that were mentioned as possibilities.

It was in this spirit that I took my seat on the morning when the appointments were to be read.

There was a solemn hush as the Bishop appeared on the platform and asked one of the preachers to conduct the devotions. This introductory service seemed to me so impressive that I was rather surprised to see the Bishop on his knees take a pencil from his pocket and make some change in the list he had brought with him; but, when he finally began to read the appointments, I forgot this little incident in my anxiety to learn whether I had one. When he read my name, I was curious to know where the place to which I had been assigned, but of which I had never heard, was situated. My curiosity, however, was accompanied by an eager responsiveness to the authority of the Bishop. It was therefore with amazement, not to say consternation, that, when the Bishop had finished, I listened to one of the leading members of the Conference as, rising in his place, he said with white lips and a tense voice, "Bishop, I can't go to Auburn," for it seemed to me nothing short of defiance of the Almighty, and I almost expected to see the man smitten like Ananias.

The name of the place to which I had been appointed was Bearytown. When I made inquiry one of the preachers informed me that it lay between Cayuga and Seneca Lakes, and, as he was going in that direction, invited me to spend the night with him and finish my journey in the morning. I ac-

cepted his hospitality and found his home and his conversation so restful that, when morning came, I was prepared to meet my people with a good degree of calmness and courage.

I stayed only ten months at Bearytown, or Fayette, as the postal authorities preferred to call it; but I look back upon those ten months as a period among the happiest in my entire experience, and that in spite of what one would naturally call the most unfavorable circumstances. If I had been looking for congenial conditions I certainly should not have asked to be sent to one of the smallest, if not the smallest, charge in the Conference, among a people almost entirely (Pennsylvania) German farmers, to work under an Elder who boasted of his lack of theological training, at a salary that barely supported me and, therefore, forbade matrimonial designs. Still, I was happy, very happy, because I was more completely consecrated to the service of God than I had ever before been in my life. In this spirit I worked forenoons at my sermons, two a week, and in this spirit I went on foot every afternoon in search of opportunities in one way or another to help those under my care. It is no exaggeration to say that it was "my meat and my drink" thus to exercise my ministry. One evening, for example, returning from a visit to a poor outcast who lived near the village, I was in so

exalted a frame of mind, that I said to a rather disreputable fellow on the road, "Charlie, if you want to be happy, be a Methodist minister."

My sermons cost me a deal of honest work. I should have preferred to write them both, but from the first I saw that this was impossible. I also discovered on the first Sunday evening, that, with the help of brief notes, I could speak half an hour on a subject to which I had not given any study. I therefore decided to give five mornings of the week to a written sermon for the morning service and the sixth to an outline of that for the evening. I might have saved myself some of the work which this plan required, for, to my surprise, I soon found that it was easier for me to extemporize than to read from a complete manuscript; also that most of my people preferred the former method, because as they acutely said, it brought us eye to eye with one another. I resisted the temptation to change because I felt that I must be true to my training, also consider the two or three who would judge me by the amount they found in my sermons. One of them was a man, himself once a preacher, who had lost his standing in the Church, but retained his interest in clerical matters, especially sermons. He used to drop in after service on Sunday evenings and discuss mine with me while I ate my supper.

I did not at first see much fruit from my labors,

either as a preacher or a pastor. The reason was that, the preceding year, under a young evangelist, there had been a prolonged series of meetings in which many, including almost all the young people of the place, had been persuaded to begin the Christian life. I, of course, had those who joined our Church to care for, and I did my best to keep them in the way; but for some time I could not add to the number. Finally I discovered that there were a few persons in the community who, for one reason or another, were considered hopeless cases, and had been neglected by the evangelist. I was advised not to waste my time on them, but, remembering Jesus' interest in publicans and sinners, I went to them with my message. To my surprise, instead of repulsing me, they heard me gladly, and it was not long before several of them joined the Church, and those who did not took a friendly attitude toward me as its minister. One of the latter, who was by some called an infidel, but was really only a Universalist, became one of my staunchest friends and stood by me in an endeavor to rid the community of a bar better than some of my members.

This incident among many taught me that there was a work to do among my own people the necessity and importance of which they hardly realized. They had, as I have stated, just passed through a revival from which perhaps half of them dated their

religious life. They attended the regular meetings and cheerfully took part in the usual Methodist manner. The young people had an additional meeting, where they felt freer to give vent to their emotions than among their elders. Sometimes there was more or less excitement; but being, from a boy, perfectly familiar with such manifestations, they did not offend me, and I did not attempt to check them. I could not, however, allow anyone as sincere as most of these young people were to harbor so crude notions of religion as they sometimes expressed without trying to help him understand his experience. When, therefore, I found that some of them thought the tingling at the ends of their fingers betokened the presence of the Divine Spirit, I took the first opportunity to suggest that love, joy, and peace, etc. were more reliable indications; and I took especial pains to advise those in whom these fruits actually showed themselves not to worry if their nerves were not noticeably affected.

My own early experience naturally made me sympathetic with young people who were ambitious to get an education, and I was only too happy to help them. I offered them the use of my books, some of which, as there was no library in the village, I thought they would be eager to read. One young man came regularly to read in my study, thus giv-

ing me an opportunity to become acquainted with him. Another, who was planning to go to college, but was obliged to miss a term at school, I helped in his studies, that he might not be delayed in his preparation. I have often congratulated myself that I had a hand in his education, for he not only did himself credit in college, but he has since had a successful career as a teacher in one of our largest universities.

I have already told how completely, when I went to Fayette, I renounced my previous desires and ambitions and how happy I was in the performance of my ministerial duties. I continued more than content while I was busy, but, when spring came and the farmers became more and more occupied with their crops, with less and less time for the Church; when, moreover, I had learned to do what I had to do more easily, I could hardly help thinking of my personal condition and interests. I then began to realize that I had no home and no intimates with whom to spend my leisure hours. The longer I dwelt on the matter the clearer it became to me, that I was robbing myself and that I should starve my heart unless its demands were heeded. Then, too, I could not forget her whose happiness, next to the divine approval, was the dearest object of my life. Still, it seemed ridiculous, in the circumstances, to think of increasing my obligations,

for my charge was too small to support two, and, although I knew that I had done good work, I could not hope that my elder would promote me. The time came, however, when I could not endure the loneliness that was growing on me. Therefore, ignoring fact and reason, I wrote, in substance: "If you are willing to share the life of a Methodist minister, with no present prospect of advancement, come home; the sooner the better."

That must have been in May. While my letter was on its way to Germany I received an invitation, as a visitor, to the Commencement Exercises at Wesleyan University. I accepted and performed my duties there without suspecting any ulterior object on the part of the Faculty. On the way back, as Miss Stanford had meanwhile returned, I stopped at Springfield and we were married, June 29, 1880, and, three days later, after a brief visit to my parents, reached my appointment. The next day, which was Sunday, was a trying one, but we had counted the cost of our venture, and we took up our work prepared to do or bear anything it entailed.

I now felt that I was equipped for my duties as I had not been hitherto, and I expected to proceed with them with increased zeal and success. Here again, however, as when I offered myself to the Missionary Society, I had brought a sacrifice which

I was providentially discharged from presenting, for, on the second day after my return, I received a letter informing me that I had been elected a tutor at my Alma Mater.

Not that I accepted the position without hesitation. In fact, I should have been obliged to decline it if the original terms had not been changed. They required me to teach Latin and German. I objected to that, although I felt perfectly able to teach German, I did not like Latin and therefore had not given it special attention; also that, as I had spent several years on Hebrew and the Old Testament, I should not feel justified in leaving the regular ministry to teach languages unless Hebrew was one of them. I suggested, therefore, that my work be in Hebrew and German, also that the salary, which did not tempt me, be somewhat increased. The result was a revised proposal to the effect that I teach Latin and Hebrew at an increased salary. With this offer I went to my Elder, saying, "Here is an opening for me, but, as it is not what I've hoped for, I'll decline it if you can assure me, that next year you'll help me to a place where I shall have a decent support." He replied in his brusque way without hesitation, "I can't make any promises." "Very well," I then said, "you may arrange to supply my place on and after the first Sunday in September," and left him.

I have taken a critical tone with reference to Bro. Beebee, but I am not sure that I ought not to reckon him among my creditors, for if I had not been sent to his district, it might have made a great difference in my future. I learned of this possibility when, after leaving my place, I stopped at Syracuse on my way to the East. There I happened to meet the Elder of that district. He asked me where I was bound, and I told him. "That's too bad!" he said, "I wanted you last fall for a church here in the city; but they wouldn't let me have you. Is it too late now to change your plans? I'll do better by you than the University." Of course, I could not profit by his generosity, but I was gratified to know, that I might have had a chance as a preacher.

The years I spent at Middletown were the hardest I have ever had as a teacher and in some respects the most unsatisfactory. The trouble, of course, was with the Latin. I ought not to have been asked to teach it; but in those days the importance of specialization was just beginning to be realized, most people taking for granted that a man who had a doctorate from a university, especially if it were German, could teach anything in the college curriculum. And I had so much of it; two classes daily, with the same lesson, week in and week out, from one end of the year to the other! Sometimes

it seemed as if I could not endure it. I should not have been able to, but for the hour a day with my class in Hebrew. There I felt so much at home that, after trying the textbooks in common use and finding them wanting, I threw them aside and adopted a method of my own which proved so satisfactory that I afterward published it. It was my experience with Hebrew, I presume, that encouraged me to introduce some features calculated to enliven our recitations in Latin and stimulate an increased interest in the language. I also interested myself personally in the students in my classes, and, if they showed scholarly aptitudes, suggested ways in which these could be cultivated. I have since seen some fruit from such personal work; but it did not then promise enough to warrant me in remaining where I was if I could find a more congenial position. I was therefore very greatly relieved when, at the end of my third year, I was notified that the exegetical department at the School of Theology of Boston University had been divided and that I could have Hebrew and the Old Testament, which I accepted with alacrity and gratitude.

Before leaving Middletown, at the suggestion of Professor Prentice, I joined the recently founded Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis and thus became more intimately acquainted with that

rare man and scholar, Frederic Gardner, its Secretary, who, shortly afterward, when he was obliged to resign the office, recommended me as his successor. Thus, in advance of my removal to Boston, I was put into a position in which I became acquainted with most of the leading biblical scholars in the eastern part of our country. This position I retained for six years, or until a trip to Palestine made it necessary to resign, meanwhile, not only keeping the records of the Society, but publishing the Journal and contributing more than my share of its contents.

THE FIRST FIVE YEARS IN BOSTON

My first five years in Boston were naturally hard ones; but I shrank from nothing, and I think that our good Dean was satisfied. Now and then I needed his assistance, and I always got it. He stood by me, when, finding the students in my classes careless and neglectful, I undertook to raise the standard. The test came when one of the Seniors, who had failed in the first examination, refused to accept his rating and went to the Dean with the matter. The Doctor told him that each instructor was supreme in his department and that, therefore, if I had said that he must take a second examination, there was no escape for him. I did not say anything further to him until he was leaving the room after the final test. Then I asked him if he had forgotten that he did not pass on the work of the first term. "Why," he replied, "I thought you let that drop." When I told him that he was mistaken, he went again to the Dean. The Doctor heard him patiently, but, in the end told him that he could not graduate unless he fulfilled my requirements. The young man, of course, took the examination, and I never had any further difficulty

of the same nature. Moreover, when he came to himself, he forgot his resentment and became one of my best friends and supporters.

I had as much difficulty about finding a satisfactory Hebrew textbook in Boston as I had experienced in Middletown. I finally undertook to make one that would answer my purpose. I decided that it should be:

Elementary, in the sense of being restricted to the simplest general outline of the language;

Logical, in the sense of presenting these elements in a natural order as needed;

Practical, in the sense of requiring the application of the things learned, as learned.

I do not need to describe the book, since it has been in use nearly thirty-five years and bids fair to continue in some favor; but there is one feature of the book that is especially interesting. When I had gotten so far along with it as to begin to look for exercises, I said to myself that, if I could find a rather extended passage of the right kind in the Old Testament, I should like to make it the basis for them. I had hardly conceived this possibility before I thought of Gen. 24, the story of Rebecca. On examining it, I found that it was precisely what I wanted: a chapter of sixty-seven verses, with a vocabulary of more than two hundred words,

largely the most familiar in the language. It served me so well, therefore, that I needed very few additional to supply the paradigms as well as the exercises. Finally, I put the chapter first among the selections at the back of the book, thus making it possible for the student to review his work without turning back to the lessons.

When I began my work in the School of Theology I gave but three hours a week to Hebrew, but after a time I asked for a fourth, and later still, finding a fifth at my disposal on Monday, I occupied it, the fall term for illustrated lectures, and the rest of the year for Hebrew. This, of course, was much more time than had ever before been given to the language; but, since the students had it to spare and I was willing to do the additional work required, I saw no serious objection to the arrangement. I was desirous that it should prevail, because, although our students were largely college men, many of them were so sadly lacking in ability to think for themselves, that I felt sure they would miss much of the benefit of a theological course, unless they had additional mental discipline such as one gets from a language intensively studied. Then, too, I knew that there was a strong prejudice in the Methodist Church against the critical study of the Old Testament, but I hoped that, with

a little more time, any student who was affected by it would come to trust me enough to give me at least an impartial hearing.

When I was at Wesleyan I now and then gave my classes in Latin a test in sight-reading. When I came to Boston I employed this method to an even greater extent; until, indeed, I ceased to assign passages of Hebrew to be translated in private. They were all read for the first time in the class and studied by the individual students afterward. I found that this method

Secured the constant interest of the entire class;

Fixed attention upon the most significant parts of the discourse;

Stimulated the student's imagination, thus enabling him to guess the meaning of unfamiliar words from the context;

Fixed recurrent words quickly and firmly in the memory; and

Emboldened the student to read by himself without a dictionary. I sometimes took advantage of this last fact to make of the recitation a kind of game, letting each one read as long as he could without making a mistake. At the end of the year I gave them the choice between being examined on what they had read or on an entirely new passage, with help on five or six words, and they almost all

preferred to try the latter method; which invariably caused a sensation in the Examining Committee.

I have referred to the educational value of Hebrew and the opportunity a thorough course gave me to win the confidence of the students; but, of course, the prime object was to prepare them to read the Old Testament in the original and interpret it with some degree of correctness. Naturally, therefore, Hebrew was required, not only in the first year, but in the exegetical work of most of the other two. There were good reasons for this; namely, the student thus became more intimately acquainted with Hebrew modes of thought and obtained a more precise conception of a given author's meaning. Now and then one forgot these considerations and offered the suggestion that we could make better progress with the English version; perhaps he called attention to the fact that some of the theological schools were making Hebrew elective; but as, under the circumstances, the quality of the work done was of more consequence than the quantity, I thought best not to change my program and the Faculty endorsed my decision.

I have said enough in the preceding paragraph to indicate that from the first I took my exegetical work seriously. I can say more; namely, that I then put myself under bonds to my conscience to

employ every means by which light is thrown upon the meaning of the Sacred Books, always to let their authors say what they will in their own way, without reference to my opinions, and never, for the sake of popular or ecclesiastical favor, to tamper with their utterances. These are the rules which I laid down for myself; and I held myself to them, not only in the conduct of my classes, but in all the books or articles into which I was later moved to put my exegetical teachings.

Having said what I have concerning my methods and principles, I ought, perhaps, to say something about my views on certain subjects belonging to my department. I shall have to confess that, for example on the origin and history of the books of the Old Testament, they were not so clear and firm as they might have been. The reason was, that although while I was in Germany, I read and heard much on the subject, I did not make a specialty of it, and therefore naturally followed my celebrated teacher, Professor Delitzsch, who, as I have already mentioned, was then inclined to be somewhat conservative. When, however, I found myself at the head of an Old Testament department, I felt the necessity of having positive ideas of my own and being able to maintain them. This necessity was the more pressing because W. Robertson Smith had recently created a sensation in Great Britain

and his books were exciting a deal of discussion in America. Briggs's *Biblical Study* and Green's *Moses and the Prophets* were both published in 1883. The next year, or as soon as I had my Hebrew Lessons off my hands, I started a "seminar," as the Germans call it, and persuaded a couple of my more advanced students to join it for the thorough examination of Smith's *Old Testament in the Jewish Church,* which I thought I could answer. I went through it word for word, making careful notes and discussing in the class with the most perfect freedom every point of any importance. When we were done I felt that I had made a good showing, and I imagine that the students were of the same opinion.

I am not sure that I ever repeated this course, for I was constantly reading and thinking, and the more deeply I went into the new views, the more strongly they appealed to me. I did not, however, adopt them wholesale, or any of them without thorough examination. I was calm, too, withal and without anxiety for I knew that, so long as I sought the truth with all my heart, I should be religiously safe, and that in the end I must be led to more satisfactory conclusions. I do not now recall how long I was in this transitional stage, but I very distinctly remember that, pursued in this spirit, my critical studies became, not merely a

source of mental discipline, but a veritable means of grace, and that many of the students, following the same course, escaped the suffering that young thinkers often have to endure in the process of changing their minds.

Many, but by no means all. There were those in my classes whose experience was almost tragic. It was partly my fault for a time, because I used the first chapters of Genesis for practice while we were studying the Hebrew language and thus giving occasion for questions that they were not prepared to discuss. I was not, however, altogether to blame, for some of them, as I have intimated, lacked mental training or harbored prejudices that forbade theological progress. When I saw my mistake I substituted passages from Judges and Samuel for those from Genesis, and by this means avoided the discussion of critical questions until the second year.

When the time came for such discussion I not only did not suppress, but invited it, insisting, however, that it should not be mere talk, but an earnest endeavor to reach the truth. I first laid before the class the facts in a given case, taking pains to explain difficulties and correct misunderstandings that were generally current or seemed to be entertained by the students. The facts having been stated, we discussed the various theories that had

been based on them. There are teachers who stop here, taking to themselves great credit for liberality, because they neither commend any particular view to their students nor require them to choose among them; a method dictated by incompetence or cowardice. I made a practice of studying subjects until I had opinions about them, and I insisted that my students, also, should cultivate the habit of making up their minds as they went along; that such a habit would not only be of great intellectual advantage to them, but furnish them with an element of power such as characterized the ancient prophets in their ministry. Of course, I was careful to explain, not only that I did not require them to adopt my views, but also that I marked them according to the ability with which they defended their honest convictions, even when I considered them mistaken. I felt that, if I could teach them to think, I could trust them in the end to correct their most serious errors and do the minimum of harm with the others. This was my method. I know of no better way to make genuine sons of prophets.

A TRIP TO PALESTINE

Soon after I came to Boston I began to see the importance to the student of the Bible of a thorough acquaintance with the Holy Land. Finally I set myself to work to prepare to visit it. I spent much of my spare time for fully two years in reading descriptions of it, studying guide books and pictures, and even, for the purpose of fastening the facts and impressions gathered in my mind, giving illustrated lectures to my classes on the subject. When, therefore, on the fourth of March, 1888, after a brief visit to Egypt, Mrs. Mitchell and I landed at Jaffa, I felt not only that I was realizing a long cherished desire, but that I was prepared to derive a great profit from the opportunity. I resolved to see as much of the country as possible in the time at my disposal and to treasure every item of knowledge thus gained that would throw the least light upon anything in the Scriptures.

We stayed only a day at Jaffa, but it was a day to be remembered as that of our introduction to the genial climate of the Plain of Sharon and the vivid life of the Orient. The next day we drove

to Jerusalem, stopping on the way to lunch and picked scarlet anemones and purple cyclamens among the rocks at Latrun and reaching the city in time to visit the Holy Sepulcher before it was closed for the night. We remained at or near Jerusalem for five weeks. While there, we were so fortunate as to lodge at the German Hospice or the so-called American Colony, and take all our meals at the former excellent establishment. We seldom, therefore, suffered inconveniences or indisposition from the climate or the peculiarities of oriental life. We were additionally fortunate in being able to draw upon the abundant experience, not only of Superintendent Bayer of the Hospice, but of Dr. Conrad Schick and the Rev. J. E. Hanauer, two gentlemen who had long enjoyed a reputation for their familiarity with the history and archeology of Palestine.

My first object, naturally, was to become thoroughly familiar with Jerusalem, its remarkable site and its characteristic features. To this end I studied it from every angle until I knew the lay of the ground and the relation of every part, in the matters of elevation and accessibility, to every other part, so that I could understand where the city must have originated and what must have been the order of its development from a petty fortress into a mountain capital; also why, under the vicissitudes

of subsequent centuries the growth or decay took the direction indicated by remaining traces. In reaching my conclusions on these points I had the help of my friend and former teacher, Professor Guthe, of Leipzig, the report of whose excavations at Jerusalem I found in the library at the Hospice.

We made several fruitful excursions from Jerusalem as a centre. The first was to Nebi Samwil, with its wide outlook, including the Mediterranean Sea and the mountains of Moab. A little later we spent a day in visiting Mar Saba monastery on the Kedron below Jerusalem, returning by way of the busy little city of Bethlehem. We next took a trip to Jericho, the Dead Sea, and the Jordan, returning on the third day, not by the carriage road, but by a little used path over the hills west of Jericho to Michmash and thence by way of Anata (Anathoth) the home of Jeremiah, back to Jerusalem. Finally, with a couple of friends we visited Hebron, and, on the second day, bidding them good-bye at Solomon's Pools we went in search of Tekoa, the home of the prophet Amos; an excursion which cost us a weary afternoon, but furnished us the most inspiring prospect we saw in Palestine.

The minor excursions above described were all made on horseback, and therefore not merely fruitful in themselves, but preparatory to the great

adventure on which we started when, on the eleventh of April, we finally left Jerusalem. We went in a party of twelve, all men but Mrs. Mitchell, under a dragoman, with eight tents, thirteen servants, twenty horses, thirteen mules, and four donkeys. We were a small company, but, as we learned *en route,* we were about as well equipped as other tourists. This means that we had as good horses as one ought to expect to find in such a country as Palestine, and better tents, food, and service than could be had on the same terms in Europe or America. It does not, however, mean that we traveled under ideal conditions. We did not. In the first place, the method of travel was strange to us, and therefore uncomfortable, in some cases hazardous; for although, ordinarily in Palestine, in April, little rain is expected, on our trip more or less fell on eight of the first eleven days, and the weather was generally so unpropitious that we men suffered more or less seriously in consequence, and I did not recover from a drenching we got at Nazareth until after I returned to America.

The most serious complaint we had to make was that we did not get as much benefit as we ought to have derived from so extended and expensive a pilgrimage. That, of course, was to some extent due to our own lack of preparation, but it was also in part the fault of our dragoman, who, although

he had a fund of curious legends and traditions from which he sometimes amused us, he knew little about the country, and less about its successive occupants. Still, we could not but be grateful to be piloted about from one to another of the places consecrated by the great Hebrews whose God we worship: Bethel, where Jacob prayed and Amos prophesied; Shiloh, where Samuel served Yahweh's altar; Shechem, where Abraham received his title to Canaan; Samaria, where Micaiah stood alone for Yahweh and the truth; Jezreel, where Elijah called Ahab to account; and Shunem, where Elisha found rest and comfort. And who would not count it a memorable privilege to visit Nain, where Jesus dried a widow's tears; Nazareth, where he grew and taught among his fellows; the sea on whose thronged shores he loved to live and work; and Cæsarea Philippi, where his favorite disciples saw him glorified. We saw all these places, and many more with genuine profit and enjoyment, then climbed over the lap of Hermon to the famous old city of Damascus, probably passing within sight of the site of Paul's conversion; climbed back into the valley of Coele-Syria to admire the colossal ruins of Baalbec, and finally, crossing the western range of Lebanon, disbanded at Beirut on the Mediterranean.

The pilgrimage ended at Beirut, but we stayed

there several days, partly because I was unfit to travel, partly because I wished to complete a collection of photographs on which I had already spent a deal of time and thought while we were in Jerusalem, and finally, because I felt that I could not neglect the opportunity to become acquainted with men so thoroughly at home in Syria as were some of those connected with the American Colony. The results were even greater than I expected, for, not only did rest and a careful diet improve my physical condition and the hours spent with the photographers add scores to the number of my pictures, but the professors at the college gave us freely any information desired, and their families, by their sympathy and ministrations, made our stay among them as delightful as it was profitable.

I took my visit to Palestine very seriously, even as an important part of the preparation for the work in the School of Theology. When we left Beirut, however, I naturally felt a degree of relief as well as satisfaction. Still I continued to note with care the scenes and incidents experienced, as if they too were of more importance than the incidental amusements of an idle traveler. Indeed, as I have gone through my journal, it has suggested itself that I must then have felt, as I did when studying in Germany, that art and nature have a serious educative value. At any rate, I can now

see it, and I shall not apologize for not going as directly as possible from Beirut to Leipzig, but taking a zigzag course by the Ægean and Adriatic Seas and spending more than a month on the way. I must, however, leave to be imagined, how keenly we enjoyed the minarets of Constantinople, the architecture and sculpture of Athens, the churches and paintings of Venice and Milan, the lakes of Northern Italy, and the mountains seen from the Luzern, Bern, and Lausanee. I will add only that among them we gathered impressions of beauty or grandeur that have lasted us all our lives.

Long as our journey had been, it was only the middle of June when we reached Leipzig, and there were yet three months before I was due in America. I had so planned, because, having now been teaching five years—I finished the fifth in half time—in Boston, I had learned where I needed further training, and I knew of no place where I could study to greater advantage than in the good old Saxon city. We spent the rest of the summer there and, during that time, I not only read eagerly, but added largely to my library on the subjects I was teaching, not a little assisted by suggestions from some of my former teachers. The result was that, when I came home, I was pretty thoroughly confirmed in my ideas and I resumed my work with increased confidence and enthusiasm.

A BRIEF BUT HAPPY PERIOD

I had from the first enjoyed my position. I now found myself increasingly happy in it. In the first place, I saw that the School was prospering. It had nearly doubled its numbers in my first five years, and it was still growing. Moreover, and this was especially encouraging, the rate of increase in graduate students was greater than in those without college training, and the quality of the men in both classes was noticeably better. Nor were we of the Theological Faculty the only ones to see the improvement. Those of our students who had electives in the Philosophical Department began to take rank with the best of their classmates. At the same time they and others of the same stamp increased the efficiency of our School by putting its professors on their metal and forcing them to do the best of which they were capable. I am more than willing to confess that I felt their urge, but I encouraged them to ask as well as answer questions, for I realized that few of my teachers had ever done as much to educate me in the strictest sense as some of those whom I was trying to educate. I think that they would now say with me,

that the hours when we forgot the lesson in the pursuit of some vital question were the times when we made most real and rapid progress.

This give-and-take method not only brought out helpful suggestions on the point in question; it revealed us to one another and enabled me to lend the students a hand in matters not "nominated in the bond" with the University. For several years I made a practice of visiting them in their rooms, especially when they were ill or in difficulty of any sort, and I only ceased to do so when I was accused of taking this way to spread my alleged heresies. I took especial interest in their outside work. Many of them had to support themselves, and, as they had preached more or less, they naturally preferred that means of meeting their expenses. Fortunately there were many places in, and within reach of, Boston where their services were needed; but I found that the matter was often so blindly or carelessly managed that the student, the Church, the School of Theology, one or all, suffered. To prevent these results I prepared a list of the places which looked to the School for their preachers, and a second of the students who wished to support themselves by preaching. Then, as I had opportunity, I informed the Presiding Elders, or others, who had the churches in charge, that, knowing the students, as I did, and their ability, I thought I

could help them in selecting preachers, and the students that I should be glad to aid them in getting places. For the protection of the School, however, I warned the latter, that I could heartily recommend only those who not only had ability, but were giving good proof of it in their studies. Since I took pains to have it understood that this rule applied to all departments and I required no further return for myself personally, I was permitted to continue my self-imposed services as long as I remained connected with the University.

I must not omit to notice the effect on my relations with the students of our common interest in missions. It first showed itself in a meeting at the Seminary in February, 1887, as the result of which a band of forty was formed whose members were pledged to devote an evening a week to missionary work. For three years they maintained their activity and employed themselves in assisting the Methodist pastors of Boston and its vicinity or conducting meetings at the missions of other denominations, without organized support; but in the fall of 1889, the Boston City Missionary and Church Extension Society, at first called the Bureau of Missions, provided them with a place for nightly meetings. Thus was formed an alliance for which the friends of the School of Theology had long prayed and labored, an alliance

destined, not only to demonstrate Christianity to the poor of the city, but to train disciples of Jesus for this field and for like service in other parts of the country. I was deeply interested in the movement. In fact, I gave the most of my spare time to it; but I did not wish a prominent part in it, because it originated with the students and I thought they should have any credit they could earn by carrying it forward successfully. I was quite content to be one of them in their meetings and keep the supporting society, of which I was a member, informed of what they were doing and when they needed assistance. They showed their appreciation of my help, and, as time passed, some, who had been prejudiced against me, began to be more teachable. They had been told that my views on the Bible were destructive of faith in God and zeal for his kingdom. I had tried to show them, that, on the other hand, they made for a firmer faith and a saner zeal than they were displacing. Of course, they might have said that I was making my missionary activity, a cloak for my heresies, but, not being ready to call me a hypocrite, the worst they allowed themselves was some such remark as was later actually made by a new student: "If I hadn't been with you at the North End, I don't know what I should think of your theology"; which, said as

we were parting after a meeting, proved a very welcome nightcap.

I said above that, after my return from Palestine, I enjoyed my work even more than in any preceding period and I think I have shown cause for having found increased pleasure in it. Indeed, I believe I was happier during the next few years than I ever was afterward, because although, as I have intimated, I was more or less hindered by prejudice and misconception; there was not the positive, deliberate opposition to my teachings in the School of Theology or in the Church that afterward developed.

A TIME OF REFRESHING

The happy period above described was rounded off by an equally enjoyable furlough. The Trustees of the University had recently decreed that its professors, after seven years of work, should have a year for recreation in the broadest sense of the term, rejuvenation of the forces of the body and reinforcement of the powers of the mind; when, therefore, I finished the school year 1890–91 I was entitled to a leave of absence on half pay and I received it. I spent it partly in travel and partly in study. First, with Mrs. Mitchell and a friend I took a (largely) walking trip of ten days on the Rhine, from Cologne to Heidelberg. Then, after an excursion to Eisenach, we went to Bayreuth for a week of music. The next month Mrs. Mitchell and I spent in the Tyrol, three weeks of it in or near Innsbruck, the rest among the Dolomites and on a carriage trip from Meran to Landeck. Thence we went to Switzerland to see the Rhone Valley, with Zermatt and the Matterhorn and Chamounix and Mont Blanc; also St. Gallen and the rest of the country through which we had wandered with Ekkehardt; finally returning and tak-

ing Freiburg, Eisenach, Erfurt, and Weimar on our way to Liepzig.

This time I had a serious purpose in coming to our favorite German city. In the first place, being in time for the opening of the winter semester, I intended to take a few lectures at the University. I chose a course on Introduction to the Old Testament, by Buhl, a friend of my student days, and one on the Theology of the Old Testament, by Guthe, one of my former teachers. This, however, was not to be my principal object. I had brought with me the first draft of a commentary on the Book of Amos, intending to rewrite it before spring; which I did, in spite of various hindrances. I called the book *Amos, an Essay in Exegesis,* because I wished, not only to make my students familiar with the man Amos and his religious teachings, but to illustrate what seemed to me the proper method to apply in such a work. First, I said to myself, the reader should be as fully prepared as possible to understand the author as he reads. The first part of my book, therefore, consisted of three introductory studies, one on the person of the prophet, a second on the date of his mission, and a third on the structure of his book. For the second part I made a careful translation of the book, to give the student a general idea of its teachings, followed by notes which so completely reproduced

the substance of it that they could be studied without constant reference to the unbroken text. Finally, in the third part, to help the student to see the prophet in his relations, I added three supplementary studies on, first, Amos and the Hexateuch, second, his theology, and third, his place among the prophets.

I greatly enjoyed this work, because now, as when I read Virgil and the Anabasis at home and when I wrote my doctor's dissertation, I had all my time to myself and not much else to occupy me. There were, however, as I have intimated, certain hindrances. First, the weather, which is always depressing in a German winter, was so wretchedly gloomy that year that I often had to work all day by lamplight. At first, also, I was sometimes bothered to get the books I needed. The rules of the University Library seemed made for the minimum of convenience. Once, for example, I presented a ticket at the desk and asked when I could have the book named. The attendant replied: "It's now afternoon. You'll have to drop the ticket into the box at the door and come for the book in the morning. No, tomorrow begins our annual inspection, which lasts a fortnight. You'll have to wait until two weeks from tomorrow." Thereupon, as I happened to be the only other person in the room at the time, I asked him what

there was to hinder him from going at once himself and getting the book for me, and, when he had recovered from his astonishment at my audacity, he adopted my suggestion. This red tape was so annoying that I finally hired the books I most needed of a bookseller for the winter for ten per cent. of their value.

I finished my *Amos* about the first of March and at once began another book, a translation of Piepenbring's *Theologie de l' Ancien Testament.* A little later, when the University took its spring vacation, and we were free to resume our travels, we left Leipzig for Italy. Our first objective was Florence, where we had a friend, Professor E. S. Stackpole, who greatly added to our comfort and enjoyment during a stay of nine days in the city, by making us at home in his family. He or his wife coached us concerning the things best worth seeing in our daily excursions, and in the evening we gave them the latest theological news from Northern Europe. I was more than satisfied with my winnings from this interchange, for, when we left Florence, I felt that my acquaintance with the Florentine artists, and the times in which they lived and wrought, had been broadened and clarified, and that it had also done me good to have to represent modern biblical criticism in a heart to heart discussion with a man as remarkable for his intel-

ligence as for the earnestness of his religious life. I afterward learned that he, too, had profited, for, the next time I met him, he greeted me with the exclamation, "Now I can believe anything"; meaning that he was willing to accept without hesitation anything that commended itself to the faculties divinely given him for his guidance and protection: the ideal and, as I always taught my students, only proper, attitude for the Christian thinker.

From Florence we went to Rome. We had already had a glimpse of this famous city. On our way to Palestine, as we were crossing from Naples to Brindisi, we had to wait there, and, not knowing whether we should ever again have such an opportunity, we took a carriage at the station and visited all the points of interest that an honest driver could reach in eighty minutes. This time we had ten days to spend there, and we made the most of them. We did not, however, enjoy Rome as much as Florence, the reason being, not that we had to live in a pension instead of a private family,—for the pension was a good one,—but that in Florence we had found a delightful naturalness and spontaneity reflected in its artistic productions which made us from the first feel at home among them. In Rome things were not only on a larger scale, but they seemed foreign to their surroundings and temporarily there on exhibition; and this effect

was produced by St. Peter's as well as the ruins of the Forum. Still, we felt it a great privilege to visit the city and take even a hasty survey of its wonderful collections. We naturally spent most time at the Vatican. I was so deeply impressed by its variously beautiful contents that I have ever since been grateful not only to the countless artists there represented for the worthy use they made of their gifts, but to the patrons who encouraged them in the practice of their arts and the collectors who preserved their works for the æsthetical gratification and education of mankind. For mankind, I say, for those who are called the owners of such collections are coming more and more to regard themselves merely as stewards, or else are putting them actually under public administration.

The trip to Italy we regarded as a vacation. When therefore, we had spent three weeks there, we made all haste to Paris, where I expected to finish my translation of Piepenbring's book and incidentally hear some of the men of note who were lecturing at the College de France, and the Protestant Seminary. We took lodgings in the Latin Quarter, where we had friends, and did light housekeeping. In the morning I worked at my translation, except when there was a lecturer whom I wanted to hear; Renan, Oppert, Maspero, Clermont-Ganneau, or Ph. Berger at the College, or

Stapfer or S. Berger at the Seminary. I felt that I could not afford to lose an opportunity to hear any of them. There evidently were not many others of this mind, except with reference to Renan, who always had a small room full,—perhaps a third women,—whom he amused, as he sat playing with his delicate hands, by racy comments on the Old Testament. Ph. Berger had only eight or ten students to hear him, Oppert and Maspero four each, and Clermont-Ganneau but two and three or four visitors. They were all, again excepting Renan, plain men, modest in their bearing, but each of them thoroughly at home in his subject and independent in his treatment of it. This was the program for the forenoon; in the afternoon we went sight-seeing, oftenest "over to the city," as we expressed it, especially to the Louvre. We did not go about quite as freely as we wished because there were threats of an anarchistic outbreak, especially on the first of May, when we denied ourselves a visit to Versailles on that account.

We lived this life of alternate work and play for five happy weeks. At the end of that time, as my translation was practically complete, we felt that we should move, and, acting on the impulse, crossed to England and next settled at Oxford, which I had always imagined an ideal place to study. Here, also, we lived, as the students lived,

in rooms, our landlady cooking and serving the food which we provided, and generally conformed to the traditions of the place. Through the kindness of Professor Francis Brown, later President of Union Theological Seminary, I became acquainted with the Librarian at the Bodleian, where I was invited to read as much as I would. I gratefully accepted the privilege and there for five more weeks it was my delight to sit, surrounded by rare books, and pursue the subject in which I was interested. I also met some of the professors of the colleges, namely, Cheyne, Driver, and Fairbairn, and heard Sayce, Ramsay and Max Muller lecture. Of all these the one who impressed me most was Fairbairn, because he was the only one who showed marked virility. I got a different impression of three young men, then just coming forward, who have since won distinction, G. Buchanan Gray, of Mansfield; Claude G. Montefiore, whom I heard in the Hibbert Lectures of that year, and Mr. Gore, then devoted to a little mission near Oxford, who was later to be honored with the episcopal office. On the whole I was rather disappointed with the University, perhaps because I did not understand the English character. There was less earnestness, both in the professors and their students, than I expected. This lack showed itself in the ceremony of conferring the usual degrees at the House of

Convocation, which was almost ridiculously perfunctory, but especially in the Commemoration Exercises, where the honorary degrees given were robbed of any dignity by the continuous chaffing of students posted in the gallery for the purpose. Some of the sallies were very good in the eyes—better to the ears—of the audience; but that made them only the more annoying. For example, the gentleman who introduced the candidates had a nervous cough. The boys first imitated it, then suggested a cough-drop, and finally, with well simulated anxiety, recommended a doctor; thereby throwing him into such confusion that he could hardly perform his office. An Indian prince, as he came forward, was asked if he used Pear's soap; and when a number of Dublin professors, one after another, were introduced, some one, with pretended indignation, exclaimed, "One more indignity on Ireland." We were told that, when Tennyson came up for a degree, he was asked, in allusion to his tousled head, "Did your mother wake and call you early, Alfred dear?" and Holmes, "Doctor, did you come in your one-horse shay?"

I went to Oxford to make some further researches on the subject of the Pentateuch. When I found that I had done all I could there, but that we still had some days before we were to sail for home, it seemed best to give them to southwestern

England, first the cathedral cities of Winchester, Salisbury, and Exeter, and then the country made famous by Kingsley in *Westward Ho.* We spent a week in the most delightful retirement and idleness among the fishermen of Clovelly and returned to London by way of Gladstonbury and Wells. This was the last of our excursions, but on the way to Liverpool we took occasion to revisit Warwick, Stratford, and Chester.

I have given a good deal of space to this my first sabbatical year, but I have seemed to myself justified in so doing. I have always thought it a mistake, on more than one account, for a man to confine himself to the narrow range of any occupation or profession, and I have acted on this conviction. I believe that it was a good thing for me, both as a man and as a teacher, to take this opportunity to become better acquainted with four of the peoples of Europe, the trend of their thinking, especially on the subject of theology, and even their achievements in the fine arts. It broadened my vision, enabling me to see things without prejudice and furnishing me with a fund of illustration on which I have drawn times without number.

ERRORS AND MISUNDERSTANDINGS

In the fall of 1892 I returned to my work. I need hardly say that I did not come back the same man that I was when I received my leave of absence. I had, during the year, not only reviewed the subject of the origin of the books of the Old Testament and thoroughly tested my views concerning them, but given much additional thought to certain doctrines which were popularly supposed to be endangered by biblical criticism; the result being the conviction that the critical method was sound and its findings substantially correct, also that it was dangerous to the doctrines in question only in so far as they were based on incomplete or mistaken data. Moreover, while writing the books on which I had been engaged, by the practice of great care in translation as well as in original composition I had acquired greater facility in expressing myself and begun to feel increased pleasure in so doing. In other words, I found myself equipped as I had never before been for the effective pursuit of my vocation.

It was well that this was the case, for I had ahead

of me the most strenuous and critical years of my life; years, also, critical for the Methodist Church. I had to justify myself to the students for any change that I purposed to make in my teaching. The extent to which I could see my way with the Pentateuch, or more precisely, the Hexateuch, appears in the supplementary chapter in my *Amos* devoted to his relation to these books; where, instead of trying to maintain that D in some form was older than the oldest of the writing prophets, I questioned whether he was acquainted with any of them. This was a pretty clear indication that I had learned to "endure" the more liberal of the two theories concerning the origin of the so-called "Books of Moses." There was another indication more positive in my translation of Piepenbring's *Theologie,* for Piepenbring, as I have already stated, was a pupil of Reuss, and Reuss was one of the earliest exponents of this theory, and the natural inference from the fact that I had translated the book would be that I belonged to the same school.

My task was rendered even more difficult that it had hitherto been by the activity of certain would-be defenders of the faith, who, stirred, by the Briggs case, flooded the denominational papers with denunciation of biblical critics and went about, not only inciting the conferences to pass resolutions

expressive of lack of confidence in our Theological School, but warning or threatening candidates for the ministry who were inclined to come to Boston. This crusade, to be sure, did not have the effect designed and expected; that is, it did not so seriously affect the attendance at the School. In fact the size of the classes for the next five years, to judge from the numbers graduated, was about fifteen per cent. greater than in the five preceding; but the men, coming as they often did, against the advice of their friends, could not feel quite free from apprehension, lest they should have made a serious mistake. It did not take me long to decide what course to pursue in the circumstances. It was, to present my views, especially so far as they were to any extent new, with all possible clearness and cogency, and to insist, as I had learned from my own experience, that these views so far from being inconsistent with and injurious to faith and piety, were calculated to establish one in genuine religion. I followed this course, and some of the students, even among those without a college training, readily responded by taking the general results of criticism on trial. For others it was not so easy to change their minds. Indeed there were those to whom it meant a struggle as desperate as that which preceded their conversion. One man who came to me for private assistance told me that he had walked

his room all night in an agony lest he should yield and lose his soul in consequence. I am happy to be able to say that in such cases the outcome was usually correspondingly joyous. When the sufferer became willing to say with all his heart, with my friend, "I am willing to believe anything that is true," he was soon on his way rejoicing.

This was the state of things in my department from 1892 onward for three years. The same questions and objections had to be answered every year because every year I had to present to new Middlers and Seniors the subjects that made us trouble. I had hoped that with time the influence of those who had "come through" their difficulties would gradually relieve the tension. That it did not, I explained as the effect of outside propaganda. It did not occur to me to suspect that any of my colleagues, however conservative, would embarrass me. I was on too good terms with them, and respected them too sincerely, to believe that they would do so intentionally. None of them did; yet in March, 1895, the uneasiness among the students became so widespread and serious, that thirty-eight of them, from the two upper classes, presented to the President a petition in which they complained of my teachings and asked for an investigation.

This movement affected me very deeply: not with

resentment, for the young men took pains to assure me of their regard for me personally, and, with one or two exceptions, they showed by their conduct during the investigation that they meant what they said; but I was humiliated by the discovery that, strenuously as I had striven, I had fallen short of my aim as a teacher. Therefore, although I declined to appear before the petitioners as a body in my own defense, I offered to see those who had formulated the charges against me personally in my study, in fact declined to make any reply to their charges until I had discussed with each of them his individual statement.

Some of them at first hesitated about accepting my invitation; but they all finally came and I corrected their statements in so far as they needed correction and explained more fully what I really believed and intended to teach. They accused me of being a Unitarian, because, as they more specifically alleged, I denied the miraculous birth of Jesus and his omniscience in the flesh; also that his death was necessary to the salvation of the world, or belief in his divinity to that of the individual soul. In reply I said with reference to the first of these charges that I had never made a positive declaration concerning the subject, except that, if, as I knew some did, I ever felt obliged to doubt or deny the historicity of the story of the

nativity, it would not disturb my faith in Jesus as, in a unique sense, the Son of God and the Savior of the world.

The second charge, that I denied the omniscience of Jesus, I unhesitatingly admitted. I had been forced into this position when I denied the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch. My opponents quoted Jesus and, when, disdaining the devices by which this point is sometimes met, I replied that he seemed to have shared the opinion of the Jews of his time, that Moses was its author, they clinched their argument, as they supposed, by asking, "Well, doesn't that settle the matter?" Of course, there was nothing for me to say but "By no means" and quote the Master's own words to show that he did not claim to be omniscient. I tried to make these young men see that, as an honest scholar, I had no alternative.

I had no great difficulty with the remaining charges. In fact, these witnesses against me, if they had carefully read one another's statements, would have found their answers in some of the very utterances attributed to me. Thus, one of them reported me as saying with reference to the necessity of believing in the divinity of Jesus for salvation, "Christ never asked anyone to believe in his divinity; he asked them to believe in him"; by which, of course, I meant to emphasize the dif-

ference between intellectual assent and religious faith. With the other matter they would have had no difficulty if they had taken the advice another said I gave them to "consider how men were saved before Christ was crucified," the reference being especially to the saints of the Old Testament and the disciples he made during his ministry. I taught that Abraham found acceptance with God through submission and obedience, and the disciples through faith, not in a dead Christ, but in the Christ who, in the face of death, prayed, "Father, if thou be willing, remove this cup from me; nevertheless, not my will, but thine, be done."

After these interviews I notified the President that I was ready to present my case, whereupon he appointed a meeting of the Standing Committee for the School of Theology to which I was invited. I first read a paper in which I discussed the students' statements, correcting any errors made and explaining the bearing of correctly reported utterances which had been misunderstood, and maintaining my position on each of the points in controversy. I concluded with a statement of my own concerning the person of Jesus, as follows:

Jesus was "the Son of God," in whom dwelt "all the fullness of the Godhead bodily," and as such, the crowning expression of God's eternal purpose of self-revelation; so that through him, presented,

not in an abstract formula merely, but in the concrete beauty and majesty of his unique personality, we learn what God is and what are his requirements of us. On the other hand, he was "the Son of Man," "the second Adam," the perfect representative of humanity, and, as such, in his sinless life and voluntary death met the requirements of the divine holiness and furnished us an object of faith through whom those who, not merely give an intellectual assent to his claims so far as they can understand them, but enter into a vital fellowship of his spirit, are saved, receiving the forgiveness of their sins, becoming partakers of the divine nature, and inheriting the blessings here and hereafter as sons of the Most High. Those who are denied a knowledge of the world's Redeemer are saved in accordance with the gracious purpose of God on condition of walking in the light vouched them. This is what I now hold, what I have for years believed, and I have never consciously taught anything to the contrary.

In the examination which followed I freely admitted that, although I had followed with the deepest interest the results of my work, I was not aware of the dissatisfaction behind this movement, and, therefore, had not in the excitement of discussion expressed myself as carefully as I ought to have done under the circumstances.

The Committee next held a conference with the petitioners at which, I suppose, my paper was read and discussed. They then adopted a report in which they endorsed my claim that I had been "thoroughly misunderstood," and, in view of my determination in the future to give to my teaching "a positiveness and iteration" that would "preclude the recurrence of any like misunderstanding," commended me to the confidence of bewildered students who, "from the standpoint of New Testament teaching," were wrestling "with the problems of history and prophecy presented by the present state of Old Testament studies"; and the report when presented at a mass meeting of the students was unanimously adopted.

The outcome gave general satisfaction. I myself felt that, in spite of the mild criticism passed upon my methods, I had been vindicated and that I could rely on the sympathy and support of the Committee, and therefore of the Trustees, in the future. I was confirmed in my confidence and deeply touched, when one of the more conservative, the next time I saw him, put his arm about me and said: "Mitchell, I don't know anything about criticism and all that, but so long as you teach what you believe to be true in the spirit that you've thus far shown, I'll stand by you." I do not need to say that this and other like tokens of faith in me did

more to restrain me from unwise speech or action than all the denunciations of my most active and influential critics.

The Committee found me the unintentional occasion of the disturbance that I have described; which implied that, if I had been better informed, I might have prevented it. I did not contest their finding, for, at the time, as I have admitted, I was of the same opinion. I now know that I was not altogether to blame, for some time after the matter was settled a former member of the Faculty wrote to me, saying that he felt that he ought at least to share the responsibility for what happened. The letter is so noble and generous that I feel warranted in quoting from it, especially since it will show that he no more intended to produce disaffection among the students than I did. This is his statement:

"I really had no intentional connection with the rising of the students. It was no part of my plan to try to disturb you; for I had made up my mind seriously that you, in the fitness of things, were the man to stay in the Boston Faculty. I did not even know that the students had taken a stand until it was under way. . . . Not only so, but, when they told me of their plan, I said that with such charges they would not, and could not, make their case. Yet I think that I really made the trouble (but not purposely); for it was my being

there, and talking, and teaching, and acting as I did which created the situation in which an uprising was possible."

It seems, as I have learned from one of the petitioners, that, while I was discussing the Pentateuch, Professor Curtis was lecturing on the incarnation and the atonement, and some of the students repeated to him disjointed remarks which I had made. He, being in a polemical mood, declared them heretical, of course without mentioning my name, and the zeal of his hearers was kindled by his indignation. If I had known all that at the time, I should probably have tried to come to an understanding with him; but I might not have succeeded. When a year later he resigned his professorship I tried in vain to persuade him to remain with us. He gave as his reason for refusing, that he could not go on teaching systematic theology until he had given at least two years to the further study of the subject. We were all, Faculty and students, sorry to lose him, for he was a man of noble spirit and an inspiring teacher.

THE WIDER FIELD

I do not need to say that I was intensely occupied during the period of the preceding chapter. I did not, however, forget or neglect the missionary work in which the students were engaged. In fact, I gave it more time and thought than formerly, because it had taken a new form, and acquired greatly increased interest and importance. When I went abroad for my sabbatical year it consisted largely in participation in meetings of the evangelistic kind. When I returned, five or six young men, under the leadership of Rollin H. Walker, had established a centre at the head of Poplar Street, where, with the help of many other students, they began a movement for the moral and religious betterment of the West End. On the first of January, 1893, the headquarters were moved to what was thereafter called the Epworth League House, in Hull Street, at the North End, and the organization was called the University Settlement. In June of that year I published the record of its first six months: sermons preached, 111; meetings at missions, lodging-houses, etc., 175; visits made, about 2500; bouquets carried to

the old, sick, etc., about 400; garments given to the needy, about 400; meals sent to those in want, about 200; to say nothing of the clubs and classes in which scores of children were taught and trained. This practical application of Christianity strongly appealed to me; also to the students, to whom it furnished invaluable training in the art of winning others as well as a means of expression for their religious life. The work was so wisely managed that it was very successful, measured, not only by its direct results, but by its influence on the community. At first it was opposed by both the Jews and the Catholics; but it was not long before a Catholic priest whose mother had been one of its beneficiaries was saying that it was the most Christ-like work he had ever seen, and the Jews, with the approval of their Rabbis, were sending their children to be taught their Scriptures at the Settlement.

At first, as will have been noticed, the emphasis was naturally put upon evangelism; but, as time passed, more and more effort was applied in social and educational ways. This change did not please Methodists generally. When an appeal was made to them for help they were apt to ask how many conversions there had been; how many Catholics had become Protestants and how many Jews Christians. We, however, who were on the ground

had learned that statistics concerning evangelistic effort in the slums were very unreliable; that the number of genuine and permanent conversions among adults were comparatively small and the value of such accessions often trifling, while the boys and girls were much more responsive and, under the guidance and stimulus of the Settlement, capable of surprising development. We therefore plead for, and labored with, the young people, some of whom we have lived to see among the most reputable men and women of Boston.

The University Settlement was a pioneer institution, the first of its kind in Methodism and one of the first in the country. It did a great work for the North End, and, although it no longer exists as an institution, its influence is still felt. Its ministry to the community is perpetuated by the Woman's Home Missionary Society, on the same site, through the Medical Mission and affiliated activities. This, however, is not all. Many young men and women, inspired by the example of that devoted teacher, Harriet J. Coke, who made religion so attractive that the children who knew her wanted to be pious, are following her as she followed the Master. Some have made it the business of their lives and become experts in their calling. The most notable of them, the Rev. E. J. Helms, has remained in Boston, and, by his

quenchless faith and tireless energy, made Morgan Memorial a cosmopolitan centre for religious and philanthropic work and fulfilled the dream that made him and his associates call their modest venture at the North End of the University Settlement by actually bringing this greater enterprise under the ægis of Boston University.

I believed in the Settlement and its methods. I said in an article on *The Redemption of the Slums,* published in the Methodist Review just before the students brought their complaint:

"The success of the institutional method, or the hand-to-hand grapple with vice and misery, is no longer in question. . . . In the first place, a vast amount of misery is relieved. The sick are nursed, the hungry fed, the homeless sheltered, and the naked furnished with clothing. Those who are handicapped by ignorance or any similar disability, are as far as possible relieved of their burdens. Thus, hundreds of foreigners are taught to write their own, and to speak the English language; while almost as many women are instructed in the arts of the housewife. Multitudes of children are gathered into clubs and classes, where they learn all sorts of valuable things, not the least important of which are consideration for one another and admiration for the unselfishness of their leaders and instructors. Nor is this all. The agents through whom these blessings are distributed are first of all disciples of Jesus. What they do they do in his name. Hence it is natural that their ministry in

temporal things should prove a preparation for the Gospel. . . . Here is an opportunity for the Methodist Church. Will it accept the divine call and lend a hand in the movement that is upon us? Or will it fall into the rear of the column led by the Salvation Army and lose the right, hitherto its glory, to be called the Church of the Masses and the especial friend of the unfortunate?" [1]

The article from which I have just quoted was one of several produced during this period. I had begun to do this sort of work some time before, first for Zion's Herald, the Andover Review, and the American Journal of Theology. I had also prepared a paper on the *Higher Criticism,* and read it, I think in 1889, before the Preachers' Meeting in New York. In it, after defining the subject and discussing the principles on which criticism was properly conducted, I made my first public statement of my position with reference to the so-called "Books of Moses." It was very frank, but very modest and conservative; therefore, in my innocence I expected that it would be well received; but to my surprise Dr. Mendenhall was invited to reply and cheered to the echo in the most violent and extravagant condemnation of the critics and all their works. I was naturally disap-

[1] I ought in self-defense to state a provoking fact with reference to the article quoted. I put my soul into it, but the Editor whose delicate (!) taste seems to have been offended by the boldness of my style, substituted for all my *I's* his timid editorial *we's,* thus robbing it of the quality which did most to make it worth publishing.

pointed, but I was somewhat comforted when, after the meeting, half a dozen of the younger men assured me of their sympathy and took me with them to a very good dinner.

I had a similar experience, when, in 1893, I gave a lecture on *Inspiration in the Old Testament* at a Summer School of Philosophy on Staten Island, under the management of Dr. Sims, some time Chancellor of Nashville University. Then it was Professor B. B. Warfield, of the Presbyterian School of Allegheny, who was pitted against me.

I had a rather more encouraging reception the next time I went to speak in New York. It was, I think, in 1893, at the invitation of the New York East Conference, and my subject was *Profit and Loss: a Reckoning with Biblical Criticism.* The following description, from a New York daily, of the discussion that followed my effort, will indicate how crude in those days was much of the theology even of some of our prominent preachers.

"Professor Mitchell's lecture stirred up a good deal of excitement among his hearers, and as soon as he had finished a dozen clergymen were on their feet to question him."

" 'Did I understand you to endorse the doctrine that all our noble thoughts are really as much the word of God as the inspired Book?' asked the Rev. John Parker."

" 'We are bound to accept anything that is true,' replied Professor Mitchell."

" 'Did Christ not accept the teachings of the Old Testament as they stood when he found them?' asked the Rev. Thomas Stevenson."

" 'Christ corrected the teachings of the Old Testament,' replied Professor Mitchell, 'in at least one particular. He abrogated the laws of Moses relating to divorce, and thereby showed that he did not consider the Old Testament infallible.' "

" 'I always gave you credit for being entertaining, if not convincing,' said the Rev. Alexander McAllister amid much laughter."

" 'How would you interpret Paul's statement, that all Scripture is inspired?' "

" 'Inspiration,' replied Professor Mitchell, 'does not imply infallibility.' "

" 'Of what use, then, is inspiration?' asked Mr. McAllister."

" 'Inspiration uplifts men,' replied Professor Mitchell, 'but not above humanity.' "

" 'If the Bible is not inerrant,' asked Mr. McAllister, 'what parts are infallible?' "

" 'That is a question to be determined,' was Professor Mitchell's reply."

" 'If we have no infallible standard, we may as well have no standard at all,' declared Mr. McAllister."

" 'Who will assert,' asked Professor Mitchell, 'that it is necessary to be infallible to go to heaven?' "

" 'When the Bible,' said Mr. McAllister, 'speaks of morals and religion it is infallible; but, when it treats of science and other matters, we don't

place any reliance on it. We never did. (Laughter). But in ethics it is infallible.' "

"The Rev. Rhey Thompson asked Mr. McAllister if the one hundred and ninth psalm was infallible in its teachings on our treatment of our enemies."

" 'In my interpretation of it,' answered Mr. McAllister, 'it is.' "

" 'How am I to be assured that I have the truth?' asked Mr. McAllister of Professor Mitchell."

" 'Does a squirrel, after it has cracked a nut, eat the shell or the kernel?' Professor Mitchell replied."

" 'Suppose he dies of old age while he is gnawing at it?' suggested some one at the rear of the church: at which there was great laughter at Mr. McAllister's expense."

" 'How did the people who listened to the Sermon on the Mount know that the Teacher of all time had arrived among them?' asked Mr. Thompson."

" 'By that spark of God which is in every man born into the world.' "

" 'This answer was greeted with applause and Mr. Thompson then moved that a vote of thanks be extended to Professor Mitchell."

"Dr. Stevenson was opposed to the vote of thanks, because he said, the faith of the clergymen present had not been built up by Professor Mitchell's lecture."

"Dr. Robert Cook said he did not agree with Professor Mitchell, but would certainly vote in favor of thanking him for his lecture."

"A standing vote was then taken, and Mr. Thompson's motion was unanimously carried."

It is evident from this report that the opposition to the higher criticism in New York had become less violent since my first lecture in that city; but lest it should be inferred that this milder attitude was very widespread in Methodism, I will mention that about this time I was invited to lecture at the Maine Conference, and, after the lecture, the Conference voted, not to thank me, but to censure the Committee by whom I was invited. The Committee, of course, were indignant; but I did not mind. I knew that it was not the first time that zeal for the faith had produced a short crop of fruits of the Spirit.

I must not leave this period without saying something about my relations with the Methodist weeklies. Zion's Herald was the only one to which I was a regular contributor. Its editor allowed me to say what I would, in reason, without always taking the trouble to provide the reader with a ready antidote. He held that there were critics and critics, and, whatever I said or omitted to say, treated me as one of the constructive class. Of course, he was prejudiced in my favor, but I should have made no serious objection if he had not put Sayce and Hommel, who had no standing among biblical scholars, in the same class. My actual position was set forth in an article in the Zion's Herald of January 24, 1894, entitled *The*

Pentateuchal Question, in which I stated the various views with reference to the origin of the Pentateuch and plead for tolerance, docility, and patience, while scholars were trying, if possible, to determine when and by whom its five books were really written.

I got a wider hearing for a more complete statement, when, later in the same year, the Editor of the Christian Advocate invited me to write a series of articles for his paper. He said he felt that the time had come for a thorough discussion of the results of biblical criticisms and that I was the man to present them; but that, since the validity of these findings were still widely questioned, he thought it only fair that the objectors, also, should he heard. He had, therefore, he stated, asked two well-known conservatives, Professor Green of Princeton and Dr. Behrends of Brooklyn, to represent them. At first I shrank from undertaking so serious a task, but finally, in view of the possibility of helping our people over what may be considered a serious crisis, I consented on the following understanding: I was to write four articles, Dr. Behrends three, and Professor Green one; neither of us was to see the others' articles; and mine were to be published precisely as I wrote them, without note or comment from the editor,

within six months of the date of publication. These stipulations seemed to ensure fair play by all parties.

I took for my general subject *The History of the Old Testament,* and for the subordinate titles, Introduction, *The Pentateuch.* The Book of Isaiah and The Book of Daniel. My first appeared October 4, 1894. In it I first explained the meaning of Introduction as a branch of Exegetical Theology, and its value as a preparation for the study of the Old Testament, with illustrations; then stated and discussed the conditions under which it might be made really and permanently helpful, namely, research and discussion, these being the only means whereby progress in knowledge of the origin and history of these Scriptures ever had been or ever would be made, concluding with a warning against attempting to silence biblical scholars or ignoring the results of their labors.

In my second paper I explained the origin of the various theories concerning the Pentateuch in successive attempts to account for the repetitions and discrepancies which force themselves upon the notice of the thoughtful readers; described the four sources of the Documentary Hypothesis; presented the evidence on the age of these sources, in the relation between the Pentateuch and Joshua, in

the five books themselves, and in the other books of the Old Testament; and finally answered the objections usually made to the dates to which the sources and the composite work are severally referred,—for J 850 B. C., for E 750, for D 650, for P 500, and for JEDP 444. In reply to the last of these objections I said, to conclude: "The New Testament presents no such alternative as 'Christ or Criticism,' and it is as unfair as it is cruel by this means to quench the intellectual life of timid believers or force their bolder brethren into seeming hostility to our Lord and Master."

In my third paper I compared the style of the parts of Isa. 1–39 which are generally recognized as products of his day with that of chapters 40–66, then the historical allusions and the leading ideas, especially the ideal king of the first part with the servant of Yahweh of the second, closing with brief replies to those objections sometimes made to the dual authorship of the book.

In my fourth paper I first called attention to the place taken by Daniel in the Hebrew Scriptures, and argued that, since the Jews placed it, not among the prophetical books, but among the so-called "Writings," they did not reckon its author among the prophets. Then I showed that in the narrative sections the author betrayed an ig-

norance of the period of which he was writing, best explained by supposing that he belonged to a much later generation; while in the parts which have the form of prophecy he described with such detail and correctness until he neared the end of the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes that one was forced to the conclusion that thus far he was reciting more recent history, and only attempted genuine prophecy in his mistaken prediction concerning the fate of the blasphemous monarch. I maintained, therefore, that this book must have been written about 165 B. C. I refused, however, to admit that it was a fraud, insisting that it was messianic in the sense that it marked the stage to which the messianic idea had been developed in the days of Antiochus Epiphanes. I ought at the same time to have claimed that it was evidently written to teach the Jews loyalty to their God and faith in his mighty power, and was doubtless a factor only less important than the great soldier Judas Maccabeus in their struggle for independence.

These papers were published one after another in successive issues of the Advocate. Then came the three by Dr. Behrends and, finally, one by Professor Green. No; not *finally,* for the next week, to my surprise,—since I supposed that *one* by him meant only *one,*—there appeared another, and so on until his contributions numbered *seven.* This

seemed a violation of our agreement; and a protest seemed in order: but, not being able to claim that the Professor's last six shots had done any damage, I decided not to waste words on a technicality.

ZEAL WITHOUT KNOWLEDGE

The investigation of 1895 left me in a comparatively favorable position, for, although the Committee had felt obliged to report that I had not always been as careful and explicit as I might have been, under the circumstances, they did not object to the substance of my teaching as I explained it. The action of the students, also, indicated that they were content, in view of my readiness to admit imperfection of method, that I should be unhampered in the presentation of what I believe to be the truth about the Scriptures. I, naturally, therefore, thought that I had heard the last of questions concerning my orthodoxy from members of the University. There was, in fact, quiet along our lines for some time. There were also indications of a better feeling in the church, and I began to hope that it would weather the disturbance occasioned by the new biblical learning, and I should be permitted to assist in the accomplishment of this result. I was encouraged in this hope, when, in 1897, the year in which I published my commentary on the first twelve chapters of Isaiah, the Pittsburg Congress was called and Professors

Bowne, Taylor, Baldwin and myself were chosen to represent Boston University. As the make-up of our delegation would indicate it was a large and widely representative gathering. There were in all thirty-seven members. Six of these, three bishops and three other officials, were there to speak for the Church at large. The greater number (22) were heads of educational institutions or teachers in them; but there were nine prominent pastors, among whom was the Rev. Daniel Dorchester, the President, in whose church the Congress was held. There were no very young men, but the majority were liberal in their general attitude, and although there were strong conservatives, I could not but feel that I was among friends. My subject was *The New Old Testament,* my aim being to show that criticism, so far from impairing the value of the Hebrew Scriptures, had really strengthened their claim for appreciation from the literary, the doctrinal, and the religious standpoint. In conclusion I said: "The outcome can be summed up in a few words. Investigation has taken from us a collection of books that we did not know how to read and given it back to us in a form in which it must command greater interest and admiration; it has taken from us a mass of teaching that we could not thoroughly understand and given it back to us so arranged that we can at length

trace its origin and history; it has taken from us a means of grace that we did not always know how to use and given it back to us with the key to its highest efficacy. If, however, this is really the effect of criticism, what ought to be our attitude toward it and those by whom it has been conducted? Hear the words of a parable: A woman came to Rabbi Jose, saying, 'Was it not wrong for God to take from Adam, while he slept, the rib from which he made Eve?' The Rabbi answered, 'if some one should secretly take from you an ounce of silver and openly give you in return a pound of gold, would you call him a thief?'

I thoroughly appreciated the opportunity thus offered to reach the thinking men of the Church, for I saw the possibility of winning through them a wider tolerance for modern ideas concerning the Bible; but my heart was with our students and I gave them from day to day the best of which I was capable. They were almost to a man very responsive. Indeed, when they had occasion to express themselves they were sometimes embarrassingly laudatory. I presume this tendency to extravagance in my friends to some extent accounts for the bitterness of those who refused to accept the general estimate of my work. There were but few of them; hence they could not, as did the complainants of 1895, claim to voice a sentiment or an opin-

ion prevalent in the School. There was this difference, also, between this movement and the preceding, that it was not impulsive and defensive, but deliberate and aggressive. From the first the two or three who led and controlled it lost no opportunity to raise an objection or otherwise interrupt me and seriously interfere with the discussion of the subject in hand. They sometimes carried their obstructive tactics so far that I was obliged to limit debate in the classroom, always, however, explaining that I would give them any amount of my time at home; at which they would become angry and use language utterly unbecoming in a student. Finally one of them brought a list of twelve questions into the class and demanded that I then and there unequivocally answer them. When I refused to take the time of the class for that purpose he became so offensive that I took the matter to the President, and thus myself precipitated another investigation.

This was in May, 1899. A little later the author of the questionnaire above mentioned, with five other Seniors and three from the Middle Class brought a complaint against me, fortified by personal statements of seven of their number, also the individual statements on which the complaint of 1895 was based: these last, not only without the permission, but against the protests, of the signers.

I am not going to reproduce the whole of this paper, but it seems necessary to quote the paragraph which presents the main charges. Here it is:

"The impression made upon us is that his teachings are essentially Unitarian. He denies the omniscience of Christ. He holds that we are not compelled to accept the statements of Christ with reference to the Old Testament, and that no argument can be based upon them. He states that belief in the deity of Jesus Christ is not necessary to salvation, and that a man can be saved through believing in other men without a knowledge of, or teaching about, Christ. That it was not a part of God's redemptive plan that Christ should die for the salvation of the race. That the vicarious sufferings of Christ were not necessary to the salvation of men. That Christ's death was simply the culminating act of his life. He holds that no prophet of the Old Testament knew anything about the person of Christ. That the prophets did not prophesy of any event not having its causes in the local conditions of their own time. He minimizes or calls in question the miraculous elements of the Old Testament. He treats as mythical the persons and history of the antediluvian patriarchs and questions the existence of Noah and Isaac. He holds that the Sabbath is not of divine origin. He accepts and teaches the general position of the Wellhausen school with reference to the Pentateuch to the exclusion of all others. His teachings with reference to the authorship and credibility of most of the books of the Old Testament are destructive rather than constructive."

These charges are so nearly those of 1895 that it does not seem necessary to give even the substance of the paper in which I answered them. It was handed to the President on the twenty-ninth of May, the date on which he was to meet the complainants, but not, unfortunately, in time for the meeting. It was the fifth of July before copies of it were delivered to the interested parties, but, as two of the complainants had by that time withdrawn their names and the rest had agreed to await the next meeting of the Trustees, the delay was not of serious consequence. When, however, the Standing Committee, after considering their charges and my reply, supplemented by an oral statement, on the twenty-third of October recommended me for re-election, one of the leaders, who was still in the School, sent a copy of the charges to the Board of Bishops, for the purpose of preventing my confirmation, if the Trustees, in spite of their protest, decided to give me a fourth term of five years; which they did unanimously on the thirteenth of November. On the same date the hostiles were notified that they were expected to remain, but that, if they did, they must abstain from further agitation of the matter then pending. Thereupon several of them gave notice of their withdrawal, but the Faculty, after various attempts to bring them to a better mind, followed them with

a sentence of suspension. I need hardly say that I had no part in this or any other action taken by the Faculty with reference to these students, but went about my work and treated them as long as any of them remained in my classes, as if nothing had happened.

In the above recital I have drawn from both a pamphlet published by my accusers and a statement of the Faculty. I will quote from them to show what was the state of my case when it now went to the Bishops for decision. The "Declaration of Principles" by which the former justified their withdrawal closed as follows:

"We, therefore, as Methodist preachers and as ambassadors of Jesus Christ, in loyalty to our Church, which we believe, was reared for a world-wide evangelism, and in conformity to the behest of our consciences, feel that we cannot endorse the re-election of Professor Mitchell by remaining longer in this institution: that an acquiescence on our part and a tacit avowal of cessation from further action in this matter would be to compromise our integrity, stifle our sense of duty, and to make still more difficult and improbable any hope of relief for the Church outside or correction within the School."

Compare the statement of the Faculty:

"In concluding this brief history the colleagues

of Professor Mitchell make the following declarations:

1. We are unanimously of the opinion that, but for outside instigation and countenance, the confidence of most, if not all, of the disturbed students could have been regained, their zeal made more intelligent and brotherly, their views of revelation and redemption brought into closer harmony with truly scriptural teaching, and all brought to honorable graduation and fruitful ministry, with only love and loyalty to Church and School alike.

2. From intimate knowledge of the views, spirit, and past work of Professor Mitchell we feel certain that he has taught nothing contrary to the doctrinal standards or Highest spiritual ideals of the Methodist Episcopal Church; and this we say after giving all due attention to what his accusers have alleged against him.

3. Finally, reviewing all that has passed, it is our deliberate opinion and unanimous judgment that the authorities of the School will mistake the will of God and commit an error of far-reaching consequence, if, influenced by the clamor of the seceding students and their allies, they deprive the rising ministry of our Church, of the inspiration and aid of a teacher of the eminent ability and loyalty of Professor Mitchell, whose only deviations from traditional conceptions of Biblical authorship and interpretation are such as he believes to be needful for the better defense of trinitarian orthodoxy and helpful in the propagation of that vigorous type of evangelical life historically associated with the name of Wesley."

No one who has read the preceding pages will

be surprised that my standing in the theological world at large was only improved by the publicity given to my teachings or overlook the evidence to this effect in the fact that in the summer of 1899 I was invited to give a course of lectures on *Old Testament Prophecy* at the Harvard Summer School of Theology, where it was my privilege to speak to a goodly number of young ministers of various denominations on *The Beginnings of Prophecy, Amos and Hosea,* and *The False Prophets.*

A CHANGE OF VENUE

My case was now in the hands of the Bishops. The change gave rise to the question whether it was necessary or admissible for me to change my method of defense. Thus far I considered myself responsible in the first instance to the Trustees of the University, with whom I had usually communicated through the President. I now felt that, since I had satisfied them of my loyalty to my obligations as a teacher and they had re-elected me, I was their man and it was theirs to protect me in my position. When, therefore, I rewrote my answer to the charges, which had now been sent to the Bishops, I addressed it to President Warren and left it with him, as the representative of the Trustees, to bring it to the attention of the Bishops as a part of the evidence of my fitness for the chair which for sixteen years I had been filling. The Trustees accepted this view of our relation and, when later I went to Washington to read my paper, my expenses were paid by the University. I might have taken a different course. I might, making the campaign against me a personal matter, have questioned the jurisdiction of the Bishops and insisted that, as a Methodist preacher, charges

of heresy could only be entertained by the annual conference of which I was a member; but thus far I had won by the passive attitude, and I considered that the more Christian. I found later that it was also the wiser, since my conference was so conservative that in a trial before it I could hardly hope for acquittal, and I could not get two Bishops with authority in the case to agree to a transfer to the New England, because, as one of them naïvely put it, I could not be convicted of anything in this latter conference.

The charges were sent to the Board of Bishops in October. My answer to them was presented in November. We expected that action on them would be taken at once, but the Bishops, finding that they needed more time, postponed consideration of the matter until their spring meeting.

Meanwhile becoming tired of seeing Sayce and Hommel quoted as defenders of the faith, I published in the Central Christian Advocate an article in two parts, entitled *Sayce the Conservative,* in which I showed that, although he could not be classed with the critics, with whom he delighted to differ, he was clearly not a conservative; that, in fact, he said, "The same evidence which obliges us to reject the conclusions of the newer criticism in one place obliges us to reject those of the older school in another."

In this connection I ought also to mention, as proof of my continued interest in Missions, that in March, at the invitation of the Faculty of Wesleyan University, I addressed the students on the subject of *The New Philanthropy.*

Both parties to my case, while waiting for the Bishops, were more or less active. My opponents used the press freely. I have already quoted one of their pamphlets. I have another on *The Destructive Biblical Criticism* by the same author, W. W. Shenk. The former was addressed to the Bishops among others, and the latter was doubtless of the material at their disposal. I can think of only one document which my friends contributed. It was a compilation of the testimony of members of the class of 1899, the one in which the trouble originated, on the following four points:

1. The Christian character and influence of its teacher.
2. His fairness in the classroom.
3. The soundness of his theological doctrines.
4. The character of the opposition of his teaching displayed in the class.

There were thirty-three in the class exclusive of the five who signed the charges. Of this number the compiler was able to reach only thirty, but they were all more ardent in my support than I was conceited enough to expect, and more severe in their

condemnation of the disturbers of our work than I had ever thought of being.

The Bishops came to a decision May 29, that is, just before the close of the General Conference of 1900, but not before asking me to state my views on the more fundamental doctrines of our Church. What they asked and how I answered, will appear from their report, dated June 8, of which the following is a copy:

Concerning the confirmation of the re-election of the Rev. H. G. Mitchell, D. D., as a Professor in the School of Theology of the Boston University, we make the following record:

We have received and carefully considered numerous documents, written and printed,—several of them very full and elaborate and containing the separate or combined declarations of many individuals,—stating antithetic opinions as to the teachings of Professor Mitchell. We have noted with care Professor Mitchell's replies to his critics, communicated to President Warren and transmitted by him to us.

We are constrained to believe that Professor Mitchell's teachings have been in some particulars unguarded and misleading, and especially that some of his statements, in the line of the so-called Higher Criticism of the Old Testament, have not been sufficiently conservative; and still further that the manner of his teaching has sometimes led to injurious misunderstanding of his real beliefs. We deeply deplore such errors of opinion and infelici-

ties of method, which have in part been the occasion for such criticism of his work.

We note, however, with satisfaction, the very general testimony to his deep personal consecration and earnest Christian spirit, and his personal declarations of full faith in the fundamental doctrines of Christianity as held by the Methodist Episcopal Church.

In answer to a letter of inquiry from one of the Bishops, Professor Mitchell wrote, on May 14, 1900, as follows:

'When the Bishop's address appeared, I wrote to President Warren expressing my admiration for the document as a whole, and the paragraph on Doctrinal Fidelity in particular. The more I study this confession the better I like it. I accept in their natural and necessary interpretation all its statements. I have never intentionally taught anything which, when properly understood, conflicts with any of them.'

The paragraph referred to is this:

'Doctrinal Fidelity.—Inasmuch as the permanence and growth of the Christian Church, or any part of it, are inseparable from fidelity to the truth as it is in Jesus, we rejoice to report our belief that the theological convictions and teachings of our Church are, in the main, unchanged; that through its entire extent, at home and abroad, the essential Christian verities, as received from our fathers and by which we have hitherto ministered successfully to the kingdom of God, are firmly held and positively proclaimed. We believe in one living and personal God, the Father Almighty, who

in perfect wisdom, holiness and love pervades, sustains and rules the worlds which he has made. We believe in Jesus Christ, his only Son our Lord, in whom dwelt all the fullness of the Godhead bodily, who was in glory with the Father before all worlds, who became flesh and dwelt among us the brightness of the Glory of God and the express image of his person, who died for sins, the just for the unjust, that he might bring man to God, who rose from the dead, who ascended on high, having received all power in heaven and on earth for the completion, by grace and judgment, of the kingdom of God. We believe in the Holy Ghost, very and eternal God, the Lord and Giver of Life, by whose operation of men dead in tres-
press image of his person, who died for sins, the
faith and loving obedience, are made aware of their sonship with God and are empowered to rise into the full stature of men in Christ Jesus. We believe in the impartial love of God to the whole human family, so that none are excluded from the benefits thereof, except as they exclude themselves by wilful unbelief and sin. We believe that faith in Christ, the self-surrender of the soul to his government and grace, is the one condition upon which man is reconciled to God, is born again, becomes partaker of the divine nature and attains sanctification through the Spirit. We accept the moral law confirmed and perfected by the divine Teacher and set forth authoritatively in the Holy Scriptures; and we believe in eternal consequences of good and evil, inherent in the constitution of the human soul and declared with utmost solemnity by him, the final Judge of human

life. These central truths of the Christian system we think were never more positively held and declared among us than they now are. They were so clearly apprehended and stated by our founders that the progress of theological study has not forced us to hold them either by excision from, or by additions to, our former creed. They are part of our inalienable inheritance. By this sign we conquer.'

Desiring to be more particularly assured of Professor Mitchell's belief of certain doctrines, concerning which his teaching has been most criticized, the Board of Bishops sent him the following letter:

CHICAGO, ILL., May 28, 1900

Prof. H. G. Mitchell,

Reverend and Dear Brother:—

The Bishops have received with genuine pleasure your letter of assent to the Doctrinal statement in our address to the General Conference, which we have been glad to know has been received with wide approval, but we find it necessary on account of specific allegations made to us to ask you for more definite answers or statements of belief as to the following points:

1st. Do you accept the Divine Authority of the Old Testament, recognizing therein a supernatural element including prophecy and miracles?

2nd. Do you accept the supernatural birth of Jesus Christ as expressed in the Apostles' Creed, Conceived by the Holy Ghost and born of the Virgin Mary?

3d. Do you accept the doctrine of the Trinity, as commonly understood by Methodist and other Evangelical Churches, including the Deity of Jesus Christ and the personality and Deity of the Holy Ghost?

4th. Do you believe that the death of Jesus Christ was necessary to the redemption and salvation of men?

5th. Do you believe in the eternal consequences of sin as expressed in the New Testament and in our Ritual?

We must ask the earliest possible reply, as the further consideration of your confirmation awaits your answer to these questions.

Assuring you of our fraternal regard and high personal esteem, we are,

Your Brothers in Christ, the Bishops
of the M. E. Church
By E. G. ANDREWS, SEC'Y.

Write your answer.'

To these inquiries he made the following reply:

'BOSTON, MASS., MAY 26, 1900

Bishop Andrews,
Secretary Board of Bishops,
Methodist General Conference, Chicago.

I accept the Old Testament as divinely authoritative, recognizing a supernatural element manifested in miracles and prophecy.

I accept the Gospel statement respecting Jesus' advent into the world.

I believe in the Trinity, including the Deity of Christ and the Holy Spirit.

I believe that the death of Jesus was necessary for the salvation of mankind.

I have not, and never had, any sympathy with the doctrines of Universalism.

H. G. MITCHELL.'

Professor Mitchell has also signed the Declaration, required of all Theological Professors whose names are before the Bishops for confirmation of their election, of his sincere acceptance of the Doctrines and Discipline of our Church, and of his purpose to teach in harmony therewith.

We cannot be insensible to the judgment concerning Professor Mitchell of those who ought to know his work thoroughly, indicated by his unanimous re-election by the Board of Trustees and the unaminous approval of that election by the Faculty of the School of Theology.

In consideration of all the facts of this embarrassing case, we hereby signify, not without hesitation, our confirmation of the re-election of Professor H. G. Mitchell as a Professor in the School of Theology of the Boston University; and express the earnest hope that the criticism to which he has been subjected may lead him to a careful reconsideration of some of his doctrinal statements and of some of his methods of instruction, and thus to greater usefulness in the work to which his life has been devoted.

By order and in behalf of the Board of Bishops,

EDW'D G. ANDREWS,

CHICAGO, ILL., MAY 29, 1900. SECRETARY.

This report needs explanation. At first sight it seems to mean that I had recanted my alleged

heresies and allowed myself to be so bound that I could no longer teach my honest views without laying myself liable to a charge of perjury; and it has been so understood. This, however, can easily be shown to be a mistaken interpretation. That I had recanted nothing appears from the quotation from my letter to President Warren concerning the Bishops' Address; for, after saying that I accepted "in their natural and necessary interpretation" all the statements in the confession of faith, I took pains to add, that I had "never intentionally taught anything which, when properly interpreted, conflicted with any of them." If this statement had been questioned, I should have referred the objector to the paper in which I had met the charges preferred against me. Note, also, my replies to the questions of the Bishops on the particular points on which they desired additional information. Thereby hangs a tale. I was requested to make "the earliest possible reply." I therefore went to work at once and, following my usual practice, put my views of the several points with perfect frankness and in the simplest everyday language. I was rather pleased with the result; but, before telegraphing it to the Bishops, it occurred to me to consult my friend Professor Bowne in the matter. Having read my statements, he said that they were well put and he thor-

oughly approved of them, "but," he added, "if you send them to the Bishops, they won't confirm you, because they won't understand you. You'll have to put them into a more theological form; then they'll probably be satisfactory." I took his advice and recast them, without in the least intentionally modifying my meaning. If now these statements be examined, it will be found that they are so worded that they harmonize with my previously expressed ideas on the same subjects. The first, for example, neither declares nor implies that the entire Old Testament is divinely authoritative. In the second I took care to say that I accepted the teachings of the Gospel, not the Apostles' Creed or any particular version, but the concordant testimony of evangelical tradition, which, of course, remained to be determined. The third did not commit me to any particular form of the doctrine of the trinity; probably the Bishops themselves could not have agreed on the subject. The fourth question was so indefinite that I might have answered in either the affirmative or the negative or in both ways. In my fifth statement I confined myself to the denial of the doctrine of retribution which the Bishops presumably had in mind. These statements, having been accepted by the Bishops, must be taken as an allowable interpretation of my general acceptance of their confession of faith.

It is clear from the care with which I framed my answers to the Bishops that, although I might change my methods, I did not intend to suppress the results of my studies in the Hebrew Scriptures. Indeed, I had, while the Bishops were considering my case, published an article from which it ought to have been evident that I would not thus betray those who looked to me for instruction. This article was written at the request of the Editor of the Daily Advocate, the organ of the General Conference, and published in his paper,—to the surprise and indignation of some of the delegates. I give the article entire, as showing not merely that I had not changed my course, but that I was willing to take the consequences of loyalty to my convictions.

The Church and its Theological Teachers.

The functions of a theological teacher are determined by his attitude, or that of the denomination to which he belongs, toward truth.

Some years ago an American Bishop, in a controversial pamphlet, said, 'The Church is not a seeker after truth.' The author of this statement was an Episcopalian. If, now, this were really the acknowledged doctrine of the Episcopal Church, the office and duty of its theological teachers would simply be to guard and defend the treasure committed to their keeping.

They would, first of all, accept, without question

or reservation, in their entirety, the thirty-nine articles of the Creed and any other formulas regarded as standards of orthodoxy.

Having adopted this body of doctrine, it would become their duty to repress, as a temptation of the father of lies, the least doubt with reference to the correctness of any of its contents, and compel themselves to think as their authorities dictated.

In case of an attack upon their cherished tenets, they would take the groundlessness, if not the maliciousness, of the objections offered for granted, and defend the faith, the milder by appeals to the Fathers, the sterner by reproaches and anathemas.

Of course, men who really believed that the communion to which they belonged already possessed the truth would not, like Pastor John Robinson, be on the lookout for "more truth and light" from God's Holy Word, or from any other source, but would spend all the strength and ingenuity they possessed in showing that anything they were forced by biblical research or scientific investigation to accept was explicitly or implicitly contained in their symbols.

It is not probable that there are many Episcopalians who would agree with the venerable Bishop above quoted. There certainly, in spite of the fact that our Discipline forbids us to change our standards, cannot be many modern Methodists, who would claim that these standards are infallible. Thus Dr. Mudge, writing on the subject, 'Why I am a Methodist', says:—

'I am not a Methodist because I believe that Methodism, and it alone, has all the truth, and nothing but the truth. No human organization can

rightly make any such a claim. Something of error will necessarily attach to its creed, something of imperfection to its economy. Neither the Methodist Church nor any other, whatever Pope Leo may say, is altogether or absolutely perfect. Changes of considerable moment have already been effected, both in its doctrine and discipline; and it is entirely certain that there will be other improvements as the years go on.'

It is plain that, from the standpoint of Dr. Mudge—who may safely be taken as a representative Methodist—the functions of the theological teacher must be regarded as very different from those just described.

In the first place, one who occupies this standpoint will accept the doctrines of his Church, not because he finds them absolutely perfect, but because, after devout and thorough study, they seem to him to set forth, more satisfactorily than the creed of any other communion with which he is acquainted, the truth with reference to God and man and their mutual relations.

Having thus committed himself, if, in process of time, doubt on any point arises, he will not smother it, but asking the aid of the Divine Spirit, whose office it is to lead us into all truth, continue his researches and loyally accept the results thus obtained.

The scholar who does not take for granted the infallibility of the system of doctrine that he has adopted will have his own way of meeting criticism of it. He will regard such criticism, unless it is evidently dictated by passion or prejudice, as a summons to re-examine the point, or points, against

which it is directed, and see if perchance, after all, they may not be vulnerable; and if he finds them weak or mistaken, he will, in the interest, not only of truth, but of his own denomination, at once seek to remedy the defect.

Finally, the scholar who is not tied hand and foot by a false and absurd ecclesiology, like the prophet of old, will be constantly on his watch-tower. He will search the Scriptures for larger meanings in the ancient oracles of God; he will ransack history for hints concerning the purposes of the Almighty; he will study the influence of the Holy Spirit on his own mind and heart, to find in it confirmation or correction for current theories; and all this for the glory of God and the honor of the branch of the Church Universal in which it is his privilege to labor.

All this is implied when it is admitted that the Church is a seeker after truth. There are those who, although they feel obliged to accept this principle, will shrink from the application of it in an actual policy. They are not sure that it is safe to allow so great liberty. Of course, there is a possibility that it may be abused. There are, however, safeguards against such a result. In the first place, the Christian scholar will seek the guidance of God's spirit, and, having it, he can hardly go far astray. Again, the searching criticism to which he knows that his every utterance of importance will be subjected by the organs of secular as well as ecclesiastical opinion will make him careful in the formation of his conclusions. Lastly, recognizing, as he must, that the liberty he enjoys is of the nature of a trust, the feeling of responsibility

thus engendered will restrain his enthusiasm and refine his temper, as the one would not be restrained, or the other refined, by external sanctions. In this, as in other relations in life, the surest way to make a man trustworthy is to trust him.

I wonder if this plea for confidence had any effect on the Bishops. At any rate they confirmed me, and that not only in spite of the efforts of my original accusers, but of at least one other who came to their assistance. This was the Rev. T. McK. Stuart, of the Des Moines Conference, in a couple of papers, one of which was sent to the Trustees and both to the Bishops. President Warren called my attention to them. I therefore addressed my reply to him, but, knowing that it would be forwarded to the complainant, I took a different tone from that which I used in other cases. I quote what I said on two points which had not previously been emphasized as he emphasized them:

"In the first place, Dr. Stuart makes frequent reference to 'the uniform consensus of Methodist teaching'. . . . He characterizes my teaching concerning the genuineness . . . of certain parts of the Hebrew Scriptures as 'contrary to the doctrines of the Methodist Church,' and throughout he takes for granted that there is a standard on the subject of the origin and interpretation of the Old Testament from which I have departed. I deny this fundamental implication, and I am sure that any

one who will give the matter a little thought will sustain me in this position. Take, first, the question of the date and authorship of the several books or any part of them. Suppose we want an orthodox opinion on the origin of the twenty-third psalm. In the title it is expressly attributed to David, and, at first sight, this seems the most reasonable view with reference to its authorship. Moreover, Professor Harman, in the authorized Introduction to the Scriptures written by him, says there is 'no sufficient reason for denying that it was composed by the royal poet.' What, however, says the greatest of Methodist commentators, Adam Clarke, whose works are published by the Book Concern and recommended without qualification by our resident Bishop? This: 'There is nothing particular in the title; it is simply attributed to David, but, as it appears to be a thanksgiving of the Israelites for their redemption from the Babylonian Captivity, it cannot with propriety be attributed to David. I rather incline to the opinion that it was written *after the Captivity.*' And this is not the only instance in which Dr. Clarke rejects the testimony of the titles of the Book of Psalms. He does so in no fewer than thirty cases, and in at least fourteen of them Professor Harman takes the opposite view. Which should one follow to avoid suspicion of heresy on the part of such as Dr. Stuart?

"Perhaps, however, our authorities will be more harmonious in the matter of interpretation. Let us see. I turn to Clarke's Commentary, where I find that this great scholar interprets the first chapter of Genesis as a description of the creation, in six literal days, of the visible universe; but, when I

consult Whedon's commentary on the same passage, I discover that Newhall utterly rejects this view, declaring that 'the language of the writer and the very conditions of the case are against the assumption of a universal cosmogony.' These two authorities, both endorsed by the Church, are likewise at odds on the proper understanding of the third chapter; for Newhall refuses to follow his predecessor, who held that the animal employed as a mask in the temptation of Eve by Satan was not a serpent at all, but a monkey. Here, again, the assumption on which Dr. Stuart bases his criticism of my teaching finds evident refutation.

"I think that I have shown that there is no consensus of Methodist teaching on the origin or interpretation of the Old Testament. Let me go farther and assert that there is no law or precedent giving any Methodist a right to dictate to another what he shall, or shall not, think or teach on these subjects. This is no new doctrine. It seems to me to be implied in our article on the Scriptures, and it is distinctly taught by the great commentator already cited. At the close of his discussion of the nature of the tempter he says: 'If, however, any person should choose to differ from the opinion stated above, he is at perfect liberty to do so. I make it no article of faith, nor of Christian communion. I crave the same liberty to judge for myself that I give to others, to which every man has an indisputable right, and I hope no man will call me a heretic.— (Would not Dr. Stuart have done so if he had been given the opportunity?)—for departing in this respect from the common opinion,

which appears to me to be so embarrassed as to be altogether unintelligible.'

"Let me quote another passage from the great work of this brave as well as gifted scholar. It is from his introduction to the Song of Solomon, the current and orthodox interpretation of which he repudiates. He says: 'The conviction of my mind, and the conclusion to which I have conscientiously arrived, are the result of frequent examination, careful study, and close thinking at intervals for nearly *fifty years,* and, however, I may be *blamed* by some, and *pitied* by others, I must say, and I say it fearlessly as I do conscientiously, that in this inimitable fine elegant Hebrew poem I see nothing of *Christ and His Church,* and nothing that appears to have been *intended* to be *thus* understood; and nothing, if applied in this way, that, *per se,* can promote the interests of vital godliness, or cause the simple and sincere not to know Christ after the flesh. Here I conscientiously stand. May God help me!' If this means anything it means that the great expositor, not only did not wish to impose his interpretation of any Scripture upon others, but also that he would not allow any one else to impose upon him an interpretation that could not be made to appear to him to be based on the evidence in the case. I take the same position, insisting that, if Dr. Stuart wishes me to change my views, he shall cease to appeal to a consensus of Methodist teaching that has no existence, except in his imagination, and would not be authoritative, if it existed, and shall produce reasons for the abandonment of these views which will outweigh the results of twenty years of the closest and devout-

est study, to say nothing of the opinions of other biblical scholars. Until he has done this I can only follow the example of Dr. Clarke, as he followed that of Luther, and say, 'Here I conscientiously stand. May God help me!'

"I think I have shown that Dr. Stuart is un-Methodistic as well as unscholarly; but what shall I say of the declaration with which he prefaces his protest against my teaching? He says that there can be 'no valid objection' to setting before the pupils of our institutions 'the teachings of the most ultra school of criticism,' but he objects to the teaching of a destructive criticism with the authority and sanction of the teacher. See, also, on page five of his paper his complaint that the doctrines I teach are not merely my 'tentative, speculative opinions, but are taught' 'with strong personal endorsement to the students of the Boston School of Theology.' These words reveal a conception of the office and duty of the theological teacher that ought to make any one who reads them thankful that the author of them is not himself in a position to practice what he preaches. Consider what it implies. In the first place, it virtually forbids the teacher to take any personal interest in the doctrines he teaches, accepting and imparting them because they commend themselves to him as a searcher for truth; in fact it forbids any such thing as the search for truth. On the other hand, this conception permits the so-called teacher to present to his pupils, not only the palpably absurd vagaries of past ages, but the most attractive and dangerous errors, so long as he refrains from openly endorsing them. Now, I have no hesitation in saying that

I consider any such doctrine, not simply erroneous, but absolutely Jesuitical. I have accepted the views I hold because, after as sincere and thorough investigation as I was able to give to the various subjects to which they relate, I was convinced that they were correct. They are a source of mental and spiritual profit and satisfaction to me, and, because this is the case, I not only retain them, but commend them to my pupils. I have never put into print, or taught in my classes, anything that I did not, when I wrote or said it, believe with all my heart. The result is that I have preserved my self-respect and my enthusiasm for my calling, and, if you will permit me to say what others have repeatedly said, achieved a success of which I am justly proud. If I had followed Dr. Stuart's theory and retained the position I occupy in spite of my uselessness to the School, I should expect in the end to have my portion 'with the hypocrites.' "

Such was Dr. Stuart's Protest. I do not wonder that the Bishops ignored it. It seems almost a reflection on their intelligence to have imagined that they might be influenced by it. I am sorry to be obliged to use such language; but it is no stronger than that used by Professor Sheldon and endorsed by the Standing Committee, in closing his reply to the same party. He says: "A review of the complainant's specifications compels me to conclude that he has entered precipitately upon the task of guarding and avenging the faith. . . . I

must, however, express the opinion, that, before entering upon the specific project undertaken by him, he should have enlarged his equipment, and moreover taken time to reflect, not only on the disciplinary requirement to contend against false doctrine, but also on the apostolic sentiment, that the weapons of our warfare are not carnal. Questions of criticism that are taxing to the most competent, reverent, and judicial scholarship of the world are not matters for such an off-hand settlement as the complainant seems to think feasible."

TWO FRUITFUL YEARS

When, on entering upon the fifth term of my professorship, I took stock of the situation, I found much that was encouraging. In the first place, the Faculty, some of whom had at first been disposed to question, at least the wisdom of my methods, had come to a clearer understanding of the origin of the trouble from which we had emerged and earnestly labored to secure my confirmation. Professor Sheldon, acting as their spokesman, on several occasions met attacks upon me or the School with ready and conclusive reasoning. The Trustees were practically unanimous in their willingness to allow me the liberty I had always enjoyed. I therefore looked forward to at least five years of the best work of which I was capable and corresponding results. I was grateful to the Bishops for their official recognition of me as an authorized teacher in our Church, and I meant to show my appreciation of it, but I did not take very seriously the warning that some saw in the suggestion that I carefully reconsider some of my doctrinal statements as well as some of my methods of instruction. Of course, I intended continually

to revise and improve both the matter that I was giving to the students and the manner of its presentation; but as a scholar I could not agree beforehand to make such changes in my views as would render them "sufficiently conservative" to suit anyone, even my ecclesiastical superiors. All that I could promise was, that I would go as deeply as I could into the subjects I was teaching, learn all I could about them, and, if possible, present the truth thus discovered in the way in which it ought to be a blessing to those who accepted it. I took this course. I did not expect that I should seriously suffer in so doing. I knew that the School was steadily growing in spite of the late disturbance, and that the danger of the recurrence of anything of the kind was constantly decreasing. I knew, too, that a majority of the Bishops were inclined to be tolerant, if not liberal, and I hoped that henceforth the number of those of that type in the Board would be increased rather than diminished. In any case I could only stand by my convictions and face the consequences.

I had occasion to apply the principle I had adopted in 1901. I had for several years been giving two courses of lectures to the Middle Class; one on the origin and structure of the Pentateuch, the other on the first eleven chapters of Genesis. To relieve the students of the drudgery of taking

notes, and at the same time to cover more ground than we otherwise could, I had put a text of these lectures into printed or typewritten form. I found, however, that even so I could furnish only an outline of the subjects discussed, and that at an expense greater than it ought to cost. I therefore finally decided to put the complete lectures into a book. When I had done so, under the title *The World Before Abraham,* I consulted two of the wisest men connected with the University, both of whom, after examining the manuscript, said there was nothing in it that ought to offend any reasonable reader. One of them added that, if agitation again arose, the book would be helpful in refuting the misunderstandings and misrepresentations from which I had too often suffered. I intended that it should, and, to that end, I had taken pains as occasion offered, to indicate the precise bearing of points made and the advantage of recognizing them. Thus at the end of the first part, on the Pentateuch, I summed up my discussion of it as follows:

"The outcome, then, of the investigation undertaken is, that, although in parts of the Bible the Pentateuch is attributed to Moses, and such, for centuries, was the teaching of the Christian as well as the Jewish Church, the doctrine is based on a mistaken tradition, the truth being that this so-

called 'Law of Moses' is a composite work, the growth of the entire period from Moses to Ezra. This conclusion, being based on the best of evidence, will have to be accepted, however it may affect the authority of the Pentateuch or the renown of its supposed author. As a matter of fact it ought not to diminish either. In the church of S. Pietro in Vincoli, at Rome, is the famous statue of the Hebrew lawgiver. It is a magnificent work of art, and, at first, one is glad that it is placed where its minutest details can conveniently be examined. Soon, however, the spectator with some artistic judgment begins to be disturbed in his enjoyment. There seems to be something wrong with the masterpiece. Its grandeur is so obtrusive that it becomes oppressive. He turns to his guidebook and there finds an explanation for the effect produced upon him. The statue, it appears, was not meant for the place which it now occupies, but was to have formed part of a colossal monument in the largest of the world's cathedrals. Suppose, now, that some great artist should carry out the original plan of Michael Angelo, complete the monument to Julius II., and add it to the attractions of S. Pietro in Vaticano. Would anyone with any taste probably object to such a consummation? One might at first miss the sharpness of outline which now forces itself upon the beholder, and feel a little confused by the thirty other statues belonging to the design of the mausoleum; but the genius of the greatest of modern sculptors is a guarantee that, in the end, both the artist and his work would receive increased admiration. What might be done for the Moses of art the biblical scholars of the last

half century have done for the Moses of history. They have deprived him, indeed, of the lesser honor of having written a great work at the dictation of the Deity, but, in associating with him the succession of writers by whom the Pentateuch was actually composed, they have given him the preëminence, as the inspired founder of a nation and its religion, for which his God designed him. Moreover, those whose eyes are open to 'behold wondrous things' out of the Scriptures say of the process now revealed, as devoutly as they ever did of the one by which they formerly believed the Pentateuch to have been produced,

> 'This is from Yahweh,
> And it is marvellous in our eyes.' "

In the Commentary, after stating the discrepancies between the first account of Creation and the modern theory of the origin of the system to which the earth belongs, I said:

"These are serious divergencies, but their significance may be exaggerated. They make it impossible for the intelligent student to accept the biblical account as a correct record of the process of creation; but they do not make it necessary for him to reject it as valueless from the religious, or even from the scientific, standpoint. In the first place, although the doctrine of God here taught can hardly be regarded as perfectly satisfactory to the Christian believer, it was sufficiently developed along right lines to furnish a basis for religion and morality unequaled in the period to which it belongs. The author's conception of creation, too, displays

a philosophic insight that is remarkable. Indeed, in its essential features, the unity of nature and the gradual origin of things, it harmonizes so perfectly with the modern theory, that the latter should be regarded as supplemental rather than abrogative of it. See Ryle, ENG, 23ff. Finally, the fact that the Sabbath did not originate exactly as described does not warrant a denial of its sanctity; for, as in the case of Sunday, the antiquity of the Hebrew rest-day, and the beneficent results of its observance are sufficient to assure one who has a sense for the divine that it was a providential institution."

To make good my contention I must quote the conclusion of my discussion of the Flood. It reads as follows:

"The above discussion has made clear, (1) that the Hebrew story of the Flood is composite, and (2) that the two accounts interwoven to produce it present important variations. Incidentally it has been shown, also, that the Babylonian story is a third account of the same event, differing in some respects from both, but most from the latter, of the others. This last, being the oldest of the three, and therefore nearest to the event which they all describe, must be taken into account in any attempt to determine the real nature of that event and the date of its occurrence. Now, although this story, also, represents the Flood as having destroyed all mankind except the occupants of Utnapishtim's vessel, there are indications that the original catastrophe was the destruction of a city called Shurip-

pak on the lower Euphrates. It is therefore probable that a local inundation was the common foundation of the three accounts. It must have occurred long before 2348 B. C., the date of the Flood according to the Priestly narrator, as appears from the fact that the hero of the event is one, the last, of the ten kings of the prehistoric period. This means that neither of the accounts can be regarded as strictly historical. It does not, however, mean that they are all alike valueless. When they are compared as vehicles of moral and religious instruction, the superiority of the Hebrew accounts is at once apparent. The Babylonian story is polytheistic, and its gods are as capricious, jealous and quarrelsome as those of the other ancient pantheons. Its hero is the favorite of one of these divinities. The Hebrew tradition, on the other hand, even in its oldest known form, is thoroughly monotheistic, and its God is a being whose character commands instant and unmixed reverence. Its hero is the man who alone won the favor of his God by his righteousness. The latter story would naturally have an effect upon those among whom it circulated as salutary as that of the other must have been unwholesome, and there can be no doubt that, in spite of its unhistorical features, it has been the means, under God, of deterring many from sin and confirming them in reverence for, and obedience to, their Maker."

I will leave *The World before Abraham* for the present, but I shall have more than one occasion to refer to it as we proceed, and especially to the passages quoted, because they will furnish a fair

basis for judgment concerning the further criticism to which I was subjected.

The book was given to the printer in the spring of 1901. I expected to use it when the School opened in the fall; but long before that date my plans had been radically changed and I was again on my way to Palestine. This time I went as Director of the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem, an institution affiliated with the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis, which had been established in the preceding year. The first Director was Professor Torrey of Yale. When the time came to appoint the second, Professor Thayer of Harvard, who had the matter in charge, asked me to go, and, when I hesitated, urged me so earnestly that I finally yielded, although I was convinced that I was risking my health by so doing. I read the last proofs of *The World before Abraham* in my stateroom on the evening of June 11 and the next morning we set sail for England.

I had been given to understand that I might be called upon to do something in the way of excavating. That I might be the better prepared for such work, we went directly to London, where I spent several weeks, chiefly in the study of Phoenician inscriptions at the British Museum. I

also collected some books for the library of the School, for which purpose I later went to Paris and Leipzig.

We intended to reach Jerusalem by the first of October, but we were caught in quarantine at Corfu, and, as a result, thenceforth missed our connections; so that we did not reach our destination until the fifteenth of the month, and then not in the best of condition.

I was not long in discovering that the hope of being able to excavate was, for various good and sufficient reasons, without foundation. I therefore lost no time in setting myself and the single student, Mr. Meyer of Cincinnati, who had reported, to work at something else. The wall of the city, being constantly before us wherever we turned, naturally very soon and very deeply impressed us. We therefore made it the first subject of investigation and spent days on days in tracing its course in the different periods of its history and taking pictures and descriptions of its present direction and condition. I wrote a paper on "The Wall of Nehemiah," with illustrations, which was finally published in the Journal of Biblical Literature. From the material gathered at that time I have since prepared another paper on the present wall, including a discussion of the materials used,

the sources from which they were obtained, and the ways in which the blocks were cut and laid by the Hebrew craftsmen. This paper, also, whose publication has been delayed by the war, will be abundantly illustrated.

When our researches in this direction were completed we turned our attention to the rock cuttings at Silwan (Siloam), the little village across the Kedron from Jerusalem. There we found a variety of excavations in the limestone of the Mount of Olives, most of which had originally been tombs. Some of them were simple chambers, single or in series. The rest, whether single or in series, had mortuary provisions consisting of benches, cribs, shelves, or loculi, or, in one case, a sarcophagus. They had all been emptied of their original occupants and transformed, sometimes with additions in masonry, into dwellings, stables, or storehouses. The only one with architectural pretensions was the so-called Tomb of Pharaoh's Daughter; but below, in the valley, are the reputed tombs of Absalom, Zechariah, and the apostle James. These rock-cuttings, also, I have described in a paper soon to be published by an archaeological society.

While I was engaged in these researches the Rev. J. E. Hanauer called on me and, during our

conversation, recited a couple of stories current among the natives of Palestine. I was greatly interested in them, and said so, whereupon he told me that he had many such that he had stored in his memory during his work in the country. I asked him why he did not publish them, assuring him that such a collection of folk-lore would be, not only interesting, but valuable. He replied that he had tried to interest several persons in them, but had never found anyone who thought them worth publishing. I not only assured him of my sincere interest, but offered, if he would give me enough to make a volume, to have them published in America and give him the proceeds of the venture. He seemed pleased with my offer, but explained that he, or, rather, his donkey, had injured his hand, so that it would be impossible for him, at least for the present, to put them into writing. At that, determined not to be balked in my project, I offered, if he would dictate them to me, to take them down and prepare them for the press. To this he agreed, and thereafter for several weeks he came to my study twice a week and told me these stories until I had a collection of sixty-nine, many of them interesting, not only as stories, but as sources of information concerning the life and thought of the country. This is the history of

Tales Told in Palestine. I discovered the hoard from which its varied contents were taken, and, as the agent of the School in Jerusalem, brought them to the knowledge of the public; but it was Mr. Hanauer who collected and preserved them. Therefore, when, after putting the book together, I succeeded in selling it to an American house, I was happy to send him a substantial draft as a well deserved honorarium. I was pleased, also, to learn a little later that the English patrons of research in Palestine had finally come to a realization of his availability and taken him into their service.

We could not, of course, be long in Palestine without yielding now and then to the desire to travel. Our earlier excursions were comparatively brief. The first took us only to Jaffa. We went there at the holidays to try the air and see if it would help us to rid ourselves of a malarial attack. We found the climate by the sea considerably milder than in the hills, and it, with the oranges from the gardens about Jaffa, so curative that, at the end of only a week, we returned to Jerusalem greatly refreshed and invigorated.

We had a similarly agreeable experience, when, in February, we went for a few days to Jericho for an outing. It ought to become a popular winter resort, for the climate is delightful and the plain

about it could in time be transformed into what it once was, a veritable paradise. We visited again, of course, the Dead Sea and the Jordan, also the wonderful spring at the site of the ancient city; but I was most interested in an excursion to Ain Duk, another spring marking the site of the city where Simon Maccabeus is supposed to have been assassinated, on the route which Joshua must have taken, when, having captured Jericho he advanced against Ai.

We did not then follow Joshua farther, but in the spring, while we were visiting the Friends at Ramallah, we took occasion to see Der Diwan, near which Ai must have been situated, and during the same visit to study the region of Beth-horon, down which the Hebrew leader pursued the routed Canaanites.

I had hoped during the year to take several more extended trips; but I was able to make but two of them realities. The first took us by way of the Plain of Sharon to Galilee. We started from Jerusalem on the fourteenth of April, driving from the first for the sake of seeing Abu Gosh, sometimes identified with Kirjath-jearim, and its interesting old church. We spent the night at Ramleh.

Thence the next morning early we struck north-

ward, taking Lyd and its famous church of St. George on the way. We did not anticipate any difficulty, but we had hardly left the village before our driver had lost his bearings and was trying to get back to the road he ought to have followed by driving through a field of grain against the frantic protest of the owner. We finally had to go back some distance and take another route.

In our wanderings we came upon a large ancient, but remarkably well preserved temple, standing deserted on the Plain, of which I had never heard. The next place of interest was Ras el-Ain, with its castle and its wonderful spring. It is the site of Antipatris, the place to which Paul was brought by night, on his way to Caesarea, to get him beyond the reach of his Jewish enemies.

From this point for a few miles our road was one with that from Jaffa to Nablus; but the two soon diverged, ours running northward, while the other bore around to the east. We saw several places, the most important being Kalansaweh, with a couple of castles, but none of them detained us; we had so far to go before we stopped for the night, and the road was growing heavier, on account of the sand, as we proceeded. Our stopping-place, Summarin, when we reached it, proved to be a Jewish colony and much more comfortable than we

expected. In fact we were quite surprised at the evidences of industry and prosperity.

The next morning, since we were now in no great hurry, I took occasion to interview some of the people about the place. If I had been a novelist I could easily have gotten the materials for another book from their experience under Turkish domination. When we finally left them we saw further proof of their agricultural skill as we descended to Tantura and the sea. From that point to Athlit we followed the beach, and thereafter we were never far from it; but it was Carmel, with its crouching bulk, that most interested us, until we rounded its massive head to comfortable lodgings in the German quarter at Haifa; and even then we could not sleep until we had seen the sun set from its brow. The next day we went to Nazareth, greatly enjoying the drive. We found the narrow pass by which the Kishon leaves the Plain of Esdraelon especially interesting for its park-like scenery, as well as its historical associations as the scene of the overthrow of Sisera. The Plain opened out before us as we proceeded, until we reached the neighborhood of Nazareth when we had an equally fine view of Carmel to the south of us.

The afternoon we spent in revisiting some of the

more important points of interest in the village, especially the spring, which surely, if it could speak, would tell us more than any other object that knew him of Jesus and his early life.

We came to Nazareth, however, not so much to revisit its sacred places as to have a convenient starting-point for an excursion to Mt. Tabor. The next morning, therefore, we were up at half past four, and an hour later on our way eastward. At eight, although our mounts were no better than cart-horses, we were standing on the summit of the mountain. It was a sightly place, and the view from it in every direction impressive, especially that toward the southwest, across the green patchwork of Esdraelon, at once the most fertile portion of Palestine and the most famous of its battlefields; and that toward the northeast, with the Sea of Galilee just seen through the nearer hills, and that mighty presence, Hermon,—the Chief, the Syrians call him,—in the background. There was no lack of associations with which to beguile the time; we therefore gave little heed to the impossible legends with which the monk who conducted us would gladly have entertained us; but we took a look at the more recent excavations and had a lunch at the monastery before returning to Nazareth.

We had intended to go from Nazareth to Ti-

berias, but, learning that the hotel at which we wished to spend the night was already crowded with tourists, we returned to Haifa and made hasty arrangements to make the excursion over Carmel the next day.

We started at six in the morning, with a guide, on horseback. The weather looked uncertain, but on the assurance of our guide, we climbed the mountain and pushed eastward, having on our right fine views of the Mediterranean, with Athlit and Tantura on its glistening shore. When we had gone five or six miles a cloud considerably larger than a man's hand overtook us and began to drench and pelt us with rain and hail. Fortunately one of the rare houses on our route was near, and we sought shelter in it. It was not a very agreeable refuge. The room where we sat consisted of two parts. The front, which was level with the ground, was occupied by the fowls and a donkey, while we were on a raised floor at the back, with our hostess and her baby, a puny little creature, whom, of course, we could neither ignore nor handle with any relish. Our embarrassment was only increased when the woman insisted on making coffee, but we drank it, lest she should be offended by a refusal. While she was preparing it we visited a grove of unusually fine trees in the neighborhood, where there was a *mihrab* decorated with

rags, after the fashion of Mohammedan shrines.

We did not stop again until we reached the Mukrakah, the traditional site of the sacrifice made by Elijah when he vanquished and destroyed the prophets of Baal. It is probably nearer the place to which he sent his servant to watch for signs of rain. The altar, near which the prophet was meanwhile wrestling in prayer, was probably somewhat below the summit, since he could not himself see the sea. The view from the summit, when we were there, was not as wide as usual, but we could see Tabor, and, of course, the whole Plain of Esdraelon which lay before us.

We did not return by the same route by which we had come, but, after passing through Esfiya, a large Druse village, where the children turned out *en masse* to escort us and have their picture taken, we bore northward and made our way by an almost impossible path down the side of the mountain to Beled esh-Shek, and thence, by the road from Nazareth, to Haifa. It had been a long, hard day for a green horseman, but, tired as I was, I spent an hour in the evening discussing excavations with the consul, Dr. Schumacher, who, although an American and the local representative of our government, was at the time conducting the German operations on the side of ancient Megiddo.

The next day we did not expect to do anything

but drive to Akka, on the coast eight miles north of Haifa. We did so in the morning, following the beach; crossing the Kishon on a pontoon bridge and fording the Belus just before reaching our destination. The drive so refreshed us that, on the way back, we arranged with our driver to start with us that afternoon for Jaffa, and we spent a part of that night again at the Jewish colony of Summarin.

"A part," I say, "of that night," for we wished to catch the afternoon train for Jerusalem, and, in order to do that, it was necessary for us to deny ourselves more than four hours of sleep. Soon after midnight, therefore, we were again on the road. And we were not the only ones abroad in the moonlight at that unseemly hour; for, just as we were leaving Summarin, we met some friends, belated by the wretchedness of the roads and their horses, and a little later came upon another party whose team had refused to go farther. Our own progress through the sand of the first miles was slow and wearisome, but we finally left it behind. Meanwhile clouds had been gathering, which, about four o'clock treated us to a brisk sprinkling. This made the road so wet that, after a brief stop for breakfast, our driver, fearing that he would find the usual route heavy with mud, took one over a series of sand hills. It was tedious in the extreme. One

after another we toiled over these rises, a good share of the time on foot, always hoping that the one we were climbing would be the last; but we did not see the last of them, and the cattle roaming over them, until we reached the Aujeh. However, we caught the train and reached Jerusalem,—not in due time,—grateful for our adventure and a happy issue out of all the toil and danger—one of us narrowly escaped serious injury through the carelessness of our guide on Carmel—which it involved. If we had a regret it was that Sharon would not thenceforth mean to us what it did before we knew so much about it.

The last and most important of these expeditions was one that began on the first of May and took us to the east of the Jordan. We traveled this time under Cook's management, three of us, including Mr. Meyer, with three tents, eight attendants, and fifteen animals. We left Jerusalem about noon, during a sirocco, and camped that night on the hither bank of the Jordan.

The next morning at five we crossed the river and made our way across the plain toward Mt. Nebo. We reached Ayun Mousa, the Springs of Moses, about noon. From that point we had the mountain always before us, and two hours later we had the privilege of standing on its summit.

The landscape which was spread before us was not so wide as the one described in Deuteronomy, but, whether the place was that "where Moses stood" or not, it was wide enough to make the occasion memorable. That night we camped at Madeba, a growing Christian colony on the site of the biblical Medeba, where we were permitted a glimpse of the wonderful mosaic presenting a map of Palestine and Egypt, then recently discovered.

The next day the air was clear and cool, and athrill with the songs of crested larks as we rode across the upland between fields of still green wheat to the mound that once was Heshbon. Thence our route lay through a more broken country to the source of the Jabbok and Amman, a Circassian colony on the site of Rabbah, the capital of the Ammonites and the place before which Uriah, the Hittite—poor fellow! met his death. On the way we saw large herds of cattle and finally numerous flocks of sheep returning from the water. At one point we met a company of Arabs moving, like Jacob and his family, first the grown people, with their donkeys and their household things, then the sheep and the goats, and finally the children caring for the young animals. At Amman we saw the ruins of the magnificent temple and other public buildings with which it was adorned by Ptolemy

adelphus, when he rebuilt it and called it, after himself, Philadelphia.

The country north of Amman was more interesting and attractive than that which we had already traversed, with larger features, plains and valleys. Soon after we started we came to a long narrow plain so green and so nearly covered with grazing flocks that I have thought that the author of Zech. 9 must have had such a scene in mind when he wrote, as I read v. 16:

> "Then will Yahweh, their God, save them;
> Like a flock will he feed his people:
> Like stars for a crown shall they be,
> Glittering on his soil."

At another point we had to climb down into a valley like an immense bowl, only to climb out of it on the other side, and presently to make another deep descent to the swift and noisy Jabbok, where we lunched among the oleanders lining its banks, before finishing our ride for the day at Jerash.

When we reached these famous ruins we saw that they would pay us for all the trouble and expense the trip had cost us. We therefore made arrangements to stay a second day and use it to the best advantage possible. Even so we had to content ourselves with the most important objects and the impressions derived from them. We could not but

be struck with the plan of the city, or that (western) part of it of which there are still valuable remains, with its oval forum surrounded by Ionic columns, near the southern end, and the colonnade extending from it to the northern gate. Next we were attracted by the temples, especially the great one, of which there remain nine colossal columns, on a platform from which they command the entire city; and the two theatres, both in sightly positions, many of whose seats are so well preserved that they seem to be only waiting for their audience. What would one not give—this is the thought that took possession of us as we studied those speaking fragments of antiquity—what would one not give for a day in the Gerasa of the second century.

When we left Jerash we took a southwesterly direction. It gave us a favorable impression of the country through which we passed. That north of the Jabbok was rather rugged, but there was now and then a village, and the valleys seemed fairly fertile. It certainly was a recommendation that the hills were more or less clothed with small trees and bushes. South of the Jabbok there were considerable stretches that invited the plow. When we inquired why they were not tilled we were told that the people were leaving the country as rapidly

as possible to escape the intolerable treatment to which they were subjected by the Turkish government. The war must have opened a door of hope to all that region!

We camped that night at es-Salt, but we left so early in the morning, that we did not see much of the place. The fact is, we had seen so much in our last five days that nothing now seemed more important than to get to our camp in the garden of Hotel Bellevue at Jericho, especially when we thought of the heat and flies that we had yet to encounter in the jungle along the Jordan. We survived these, however, with four more torrid hours the next day, and arrived at Jerusalem before noon in tolerable condition.

On all these trips, as well as in my walks about Jerusalem I made it my rule to photograph every scene or object which illustrated anything in the Bible. The result was that I was able to bring home between seven and eight hundred pictures, all of which were in one way or another valuable, and some remarkably interesting. My stock of photographs, however, was not the measure of the illustrative material that I had accumulated. I had pages on pages of notes on our goings and doings. But, best of all, after nearly eight months in the

Holy Land, I had a store of impressions which have ever since made me feel more at home in the Bible than in any other literature.

My work in Palestine done, on the fourth of June we left Jerusalem and made our way to Germany where we spent nearly a month, the first few days at Rothenburg enjoying its medieval architecture and a musical festival, and the rest in Leipzig, refreshing our hungry souls at that then universally recognized centre of learning and music. Our only other stop of any length was one in London. We could not withstand the lure of that great metropolis on our way to Liverpool and America.

A LEGISLATIVE MUDDLE

I have mentioned certain reasons which, after my confirmation in 1900, led me to hope that I should at last be permitted to pursue my work in comparative peace. As time passed I thought there was another in the fact that most of those who signed the last complaint had ceased their agitation and one of the leaders had asked to be reinstated and had returned to the University for a philosophical course. This, however, was a mistake, for, in March 1901, H. W. Peck, the bitterest and most reckless of my former accusers, and others, residents in southern California, began a new campaign with the publication of a periodical called The Methodist Outlook. The date of the first number of this organ is important, because it shows that, whereas I have been accused of bringing upon myself a renewal of the agitation against me by publishing *The World Before Abraham,* the campaign had been more than six months under way when that work appeared. The first two numbers were entirely devoted to me and my heresies. In the first the old charge that I was a Unitarian was revived and the old state-

ments rightly or wrongly attributed to me repeated, as if they had never been answered. In the second it was my teaching concerning the Sabbath that was attacked. In the third, the only other that I have ever seen, the *Moses and the Prophets* of Professor Terry, of Garrett Biblical Institute, as well as my *World before Abraham,* was placed in the *index expurgatorius.* I found some comfort in the fact that a man so well known and so highly respected had become so outspoken as he was in this volume; for I thought that fewer would be likely to join a movement against the two of us and the schools we represented; also that those who did would be less likely to accomplish their purpose. It was partly for these reasons and partly because I was tired of controversy that I paid little attention to this new campaign, even when effects of it showed themselves in articles in the religious papers and resolutions passed by the western conferences. I will give, as a sample of the style and content of these resolutions, those of the Southern California Conference, of the fall of 1901:

"Whereas, certain professors of the Theological Seminary are teaching doctrines contrary to the Word of God and the doctrines of the Methodist Episcopal Church, therefore:

Resolved: That the Southern California Con-

ference does hereby express its emphatic disapproval of such teachings, and that we withdraw from the Boston Theological Seminary our endorsement as a conference, and that we advise our young men to attend some other theological school.

Resolved: That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the Secretary of the Board of Bishops and to the California and New York Christian Advocates for publication."

These species of propaganda continued throughout the two years following my return from Palestine, but I followed the rule I had previously observed and steadfastly refrained from answering any of these direct or indirect attacks, except in one instance, when I wrote to a prominent man on the Pacific Coast whom I had known as a student, expressing my surprise that any one who knew me could believe the things that he seemed to have accepted with reference to my character and opinions.

The course that I had taken and the faith that prompted it seemed justified, at the time, by the action of the General Conference of 1904, to which, as will appear, numerous protests and petitions on the subject of the theological schools, especially that in Boston, had been presented. This was the report of the Committee on Education, to which they were referred, and the verdict of the Conference by a large majority:

"Your Committee, to which were referred various memorials relating to the character of the teaching in our theological schools, have carefully examined the statements contained in these memorials and report as follows:

First. We are persuaded that there is no sufficient foundation for the allegation that certain of our theological schools are disloyal to the doctrines of the Church. None of the memorials received contain any specific charges, and there have come to the Committee statements as to the doctrinal soundness of the teachings in one of these institutions in the reports of numerous official visitors appointed by the annual conferences.

Second. In view, however, of the unrest that the memorials disclose as existing in some portions of the Church on the subject, we suggest and recommend:

(a) The General Conference has declared the theological schools to exist for the entire Church, and the schools themselves have, by charter or otherwise, given the Bishops the right to nominate or confirm the election of professors in the various departments, which right the Bishops have repeatedly exercised.

(b) We, therefore, again commend the theological seminaries of the Church to the careful supervision of the Board of Bishops, to the end that the Church may be protected from erroneous teachings and the schools from unwarrantable assaults.

(c) The Bishops are hereby counseled not to nominate or confirm any professor in our theological schools concerning whose agreement with our theological standards they have a reasonable doubt.

(d) The Bishops are hereby authorized and directed, whenever specified charges of misteaching in any of our theological schools are made in writing, by responsible parties, members or ministers of the Church, to appoint a committee of their own number, to investigate such charges, whose report, if adopted by the Bishops, shall be transmitted to the Trustees of the theological school involved for proper action in the premises.

(e) We urge that the Bishops diligently strive to allay all undue irritation upon this subject and 'maintain and set forth quietness, love and peace among all men.'

Third. We admonish all instructors in our schools to studiously avoid, as far as possible, all occasion of misunderstanding of their doctrinal attitude, both in their oral teaching and in their publications, and that they counsel their pupils to carefully avoid statements which would disturb the faith of those to whom they minister.

Fourth. We deprecate the dissemination of distrust in the Church by indiscriminate and indefinite attacks upon religious teachers and theological institutions. The Discipline of our Church provides ample tests for determining the doctrinal soundness of preachers and teachers. All charges of erroneous teaching should be presented to the proper tribunal, where they can be legally tried, and where the rights of both the accuser and the accused are fully protected by constitutional safeguards."

This report was evidently prepared with some care and the best intentions, and any action based

thereon was at the time supposed to furnish adequate protection both for the Church and its theological teachers. Really, however, it was self-contradictory and introduced confusion into the question of jurisdiction, of which my pursuers were prompt to take advantage. The final paragraph says: "The Discipline of our Church provides ample tests for determining the doctrinal soundness of preachers and teachers, and all charges of erroneous teaching should be presented to the proper tribunal, where they can be legally tried, and where the rights of both the accuser and the accused are fully protected by constitutional safeguards." This, of course, refers to the Annual Conference, yet in preceding paragraphs the theological seminaries are commended "to the careful supervision of the Board of Bishops," and the Bishops are "authorized and directed, whenever specific charges of misteaching in any of our theological schools are made in writing, by responsible parties, ministers or laymen of the Church, to appoint a committee of their own number, to investigate such charges, whose report," whether adopted or rejected by the Bishops, would be a decision on the matter at issue, and therefore, of course, an invasion of the jurisdiction of the Annual Conference. This was finally discovered, but not

until some one had suffered, although, as is evident from the tone of this report, if his case had been submitted to the General Conference, the charges against him would have been dismissed.

THE WORLD BEFORE ABRAHAM ASSAILED

The new rules with reference to cases of misteaching in the theological schools were enacted in May, 1904. In November of the same year new charges, or the old charges under more or less new forms, were submitted to the Bishops, the object of presenting them at this particular time being to prevent the confirmation of my election for a fifth term to my professorship. They were signed by H. W. Peck and six associates, presumably the same who had backed him in the publication of the Methodist Outlook. I have not space for the whole of this paper, but I will give the charges and the specifications, the latter being almost entirely excerpts from *The World Before Abraham,* but omit the "corroborative and interpretative evidence," which consists mostly of references to statements which have already been answered.

THE CHARGES AND SPECIFICATIONS

"TO THE BISHOPS OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

Dear Fathers and Brethren:—

WHEREAS, by the unanimous action of the last General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, held in Los Angeles, California, the following instructions were given:—

'The Bishops are hereby counseled not to nominate or confirm any professor in our theological schools concerning whose agreement with our theological standards they have a reasonable doubt. The Bishops are hereby authorized and directed, whenever specific charges of misteaching in any of the theological schools of our Church are made in writing, by responsible parties, members or ministers of the Church, to appoint a committee of their own number to investigate such charges, whose report, if adopted by the Bishops, shall be transmitted to the Trustees of the theological school involved for proper action in the premises.'

THEREFORE, we, the undersigned ministers and members of the Methodist Episcopal Church, submit the following TEACHINGS of Dr. Hinckley G. Mitchell, of Boston University School of Theology, charging that they are not in 'agreement with our doctrinal standards,' and are derogatory to the Person of our God and Savior Jesus Christ, and are destructive, in tendency, and in fact, of the authority and reliability of His statements, and Teachings, and those of the Word of God, and ask that an investigation be made con-

cerning them, and that 'proper action in the premises' be taken:—

> *He denies; in effect and in fact, the deity of Jesus Christ, as set forth in the second article of religion of the Methodist Episcopal Church, in the word of God, and by Jesus Christ Himself.*

SPECIFICATION

'The truth is, that Jesus never claimed to be omniscient, but, on the other hand, on at least one occasion (Mark 13, 32) confessed that his knowledge was limited. There is, therefore, no impiety in facing the possibility of discovering another example of such limitation, and asking in all humility and reverence, whether the Pentateuch CAN have been written by Moses'; etc. *The World Before Abraham,* p. 16f.

'In the first place, I am accused of denying the omniscience of Jesus. The subject is one that does not properly belong in my department. Consequently, I discuss it only incidentally in connection with the references to our Lord to the Pentateuch. When I say, as I do, that the Jews of his time universally believed the Pentateuch to have been written by Moses, and that, although, as most modern scholars maintain, the books comprising it are the work of later authors, he used the customary phraseology with reference to it, the question always arises, how this fact is to be interpreted. I suggest two ways of explaining it, viz.: that he knew Moses did not write it, but, for easily imagined reasons, refrained from correcting the prevailing opinion; or, that this is a case like that in Mark 13, 32, in which his knowledge is limited.

See also Luke 2, 52. I give the students the choice of these two alternatives, frankly expressing my preference for the latter. I have no hesitation in saying, with many other scholars, that I do not think Jesus in his humiliation was omniscient. Wesley seems to have held the same opinion. In his 'Notes' on the passage cited, 'neither the son,' he says, 'Not as man; as man he was no more omniscient than omni-present.' He adds, 'But as God he knew all the circumstances of it.' How he reconciled this second with his first statement, he does not explain. Principal Fairbairn, who himself denies the omniscience of Christ in his early life, characterizes such a conjunction of doctrines as 'the worst of all forms of docetism.' Professor Mitchell's *Reply to his Accusers*, p. 3f.

> *He also denies; in effect and in fact, the deity of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, by teaching that not only was He ignorant concerning the human authorship of, and the events and facts connected with, the giving of His own laws, commandments and ordinances, as recorded in the Pentateuch, but that He taught His erroneous views, supposing them to be the truth, to His disciples and through them to the church of all time; and that he (Hinckley G. Mitchell) has the truth concerning those things, thus exalting himself, in knowledge, above Jesus Christ, and the authority and reliability of his views above those of the eternal Son of God.*

SPECIFICATION

'Jesus and his early disciples were Jews, and, as such, shared to a greater or less extent the tradi-

tional opinions of their countrymen. They would naturally, therefore, think and speak of the Pentateuch as the work of Moses. That they did actually thus think and speak, it is easy to show. The Evangelists, e. g., themselves use the same terms in referring to the Pentateuch as the other Jews, and they represent their Master as employing them. He uses the terms 'law of Moses' (Luke 24, 44), and 'book of Moses' (Mark 12, 26), but generally, when he refers to the Pentateuch, he employs the briefer 'Moses,' and that in such a way as to indicate that the book and the man are associated in his mind in the relation of the work to the author. When the Gospel spread among the gentiles, they received with it the Old Testament and the traditions then current respecting its origin. Thus the Jewish doctrine of the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch became the doctrine of the Christian Church, in which, for fifteen centuries, it was transmitted almost unquestioned.' *The World Before Abraham,* p. 14f.

'The outcome, then, of the investigation undertaken is, that, although in parts of the Bible the Pentateuch is attributed to Moses, and such was for centuries the teaching of the Christian as well as the Jewish Church, the doctrine is based upon a mistaken tradition; the truth being that this so-called 'law of Moses' is a composite work, the growth of the entire period from Moses to Ezra. This conclusion, being based upon the best of evidence, will have to be accepted, however it may effect the authority of the Pentateuch or the renown of its supposed author.' *The World Before Abraham,* p. 66.

NEW TESTAMENT

His denials, in effect and in fact, of the historicity of Biblical Records, of the reality of the personages, of the authority of plain, Biblical statements of fact, of the truthfulness of the statements made in the Old Testament concerning some of the personages, events, and facts declared by the New Testament writers and our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ to have been historic, real, and the records concerning them trustworthy, and used by Him and them as the ground and basis of doctrines fundamental to our faith are:—

(a) Destructive of the authority and reliability of the new Testament statements of fact.

(b) Destructive of any reliance upon the Divine Inspiration and Guidance 'into all the Truth' (John 16, 13) promised by the Son of God to, and claimed by, the New Testament writers.

(c) Destructive of the moral and religious value of all New Testament doctrines and teachings based upon fictitious foundations, and accredited to the church by such unreliable guidance of the Holy Spirit.

(d) And not in agreement with 'our doctrinal standards' as set forth in the fifth, sixth, seventh and eighth articles of religion of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

SPECIFICATION

'The discussion just concluded has shown that, although the Pentateuch itself does not claim to

have been written by Moses, and earlier authorities persistently ignore its existence, the New Testament, as well as the later books of the Old, attribute it to him, and this is the traditional doctrine both of the Jewish and the Christian Church. The question now arises whether the testimony of the last two authorities is to be accepted as decisive. There are those who reply without hesitation in the affirmative, arguing that even the latest of the sacred writers were so much nearer the Mosaic age than modern scholars that it is an impertinence in the latter to question the statements or implications of the former; that this impertinence becomes presumption in view of the inspiration of the writers quoted; and that the offense amounts to impiety when Jesus' relation to the subject is considered. The arguments are as weak as they are unfair. In reply to the first it is only necessary to say that if, as is generally admitted, the value of testimony depends upon the distance of the witness from the event to which he testifies, it certainly is not favorable to the traditional doctrine that the support for it comes from witnesses none of whom lived within a thousand years of the time of Moses. The second argument takes for granted that inspiration implies infallibility; a doctrine for which there is no ground in reason or experience, and of which there is no example in the history of revelation.' *The World Before Abraham,* p. 16.

'The Evangelists themselves connect the name of Moses with the Pentateuch as a whole, Luke 24, 27: John 1, 17, 45; with a particular passage, Luke 2, 23. Other Jews are represented as attributing to Moses the Pentateuch as a whole, John 9, 28f.;

particular passages, Matt. 19, 7, (Mark 10, 4); 22, 24 (Mark 12, 19; Luke 20, 28); John 8, 5. Jesus is represented as connecting the name of Moses with the Pentateuch as a whole, Matt. 23, 2; Luke 16, 29, 31; 24, 44: John 5, 45f.: 7, 19; with particular passages, Matt. 8, 4 (Mark 1, 44; Luke 5, 14); 19, 8 (Mark 10, 3); Mark 7, 10; 12, 26 (Luke 20, 37); John 7, 22f. *The World Before Abraham,* p. 14, note.

'Yahweh, therefore, must have forbidden the first man to eat of the fruit of the tree in the middle of the garden, without informing him what its effect would be and thus suggesting an inducement to disobedience.' *The World Before Abraham,* p. 134.

'The presence of the tree of knowledge of good and evil in the garden, in view of its attractiveness, was in itself a temptation. This, however, was not sufficient. The force of the divine prohibition, which would naturally operate to prevent disobedience, must in some way be neutralized. This is accomplished through the intervention of THE SERPENT. The question who, or what, was the serpent, has been variously answered.' *The World Before Abraham,* p. 141.

'A favorite theory is that the serpent was a mask for Satan. It is at least as old as the book of Wisdom (2, 23f.; see also Rom. 16, 20; Rev. 12, 9; 20, 2; but comp. 2 Cor. 11, 3). Some modern exegetes (Delitzsch) are very strenuous in their insistence upon it; but it cannot be maintained.' *The World Before Abraham,* p. 142.

'The story of the Fall, in its Hebrew form, was clearly intended to be taken literally; hence the in-

terpretation adopted in the foregoing comments. It is possible that some who admit the correctness of this method of interpreting it will continue to regard it as veritable history; but most thoughtful people will feel obliged to question or deny the correctness of the account of the origin of evil here given,' etc. *The World Before Abraham,* p. 159.

'The first sin, although, so far as can be learned from the record, it did not disorganize human nature, as it has sometimes been represented to have done, and, although the ills by which it was punished remained as a warning against further offenses, was followed by others, until the race became a race of evil-doers.' *The World Before Abraham,* p. 160.

'There are those who still find reason for believing that the names of this genealogy (Adam to Noah) represent real persons, and that each lived the number of years he is reported to have lived. See Murphy; Dawson, E. L. W., 84. These theses, however, cannot be maintained.' *The World Before Abraham,* p. 188.

'These considerations (reasons that are omitted) show that, from the strictly historical standpoint, the chapter is of little value. In reality it is a more or less artificial scheme, probably suggested by the list of mythological kings who reigned before the Babylonian deluge, by which, in the absence of more reliable data, the author undertook to connect his doctrine concerning the origin of the world with the more historical parts of his narrative,' etc. The *World Before Abraham,* p. 189.

'This list (Shem to Terah), like that of chapter v, ends with a father who has three sons. Here,

too, as in the preceding case, the author gives the age, SEVENTY YEARS, of the father when the first son was born. The three sons of Terah were ABRAHAM, NAHOR, and HARAN.

'The reasons for doubting the historicity of the table in chapter v., with a single exception (3), apply to this one. Moreover, by reducing the age of paternity, without correspondingly reducing the total of years, the author exposes himself to an objection quite as serious as the one he has avoided. It is also incredible that all the persons—taking for granted that the names represent persons—here mentioned, including Abraham, were born forty-eight years before any of them died; and that Ebher survived seven years after Joseph had been sold into Egypt.' *The World Before Abraham,* p. 275f.

'It is therefore probable that a local inundation was the common foundation of the three accounts (of the Flood). It must have occurred long before 2348 B. C., the date of the Flood according to the Priestly Narrator, as appears from the fact that the hero of the event is the last of ten (Babylonian) kings of the prehistoric period. This means that neither of the three accounts can be regarded as strictly historical.' *The World Before Abraham,* p. 226.

'The sign chosen he calls MY BOW. This expression reminds one of the Hindoo myth in which the bow used by Indra, when the storm is over, becomes the rainbow, a sign of peace to mankind. See Dillmann. This bow God promises to place, not once for all, but, as the next verse explains, at indefinite intervals, IN THE CLOUDS, to serve as a re-

minder of the covenant now established. The author apparently thought that hitherto there had been no such thing as a rainbow.' *The World Before Abraham,* p. 224.

'The purpose of the sign is now stated: THAT I, not mankind, MAY REMEMBER THE COVENANT, and that, as a result, THE WATER MAY NOT continue to fall so long as to BECOME A FLOOD DESTROYING ALL FLESH.

'This verse (16) repeats the thought of the last two, emphasizing the anthropomorphic features of the representation." *The World Before Abraham* p. 225.

OLD TESTAMENT

He denies, in effect and in fact, the reality of many of the Old Testament personages, the authority and reality of many of its plain statements of fact. He also, in effect and in fact, charges the authors of the Pentateuch and Joshua with deception and fraud in the statements they make concerning God's Revelation through Moses of His Laws, Commandments and Statutes.

SPECIFICATION

He denies the existence of the patriarchs from Adam to Abraham, inclusive. See *The World Before Abraham,* pp. 188, 189, 275, 276.

He denies that God revealed to Moses the laws, commandments and statutes attributed to him in the Pentateuch.

He also denies the Pentateuchal statements as

to when and where its laws, commandments and statutes were given.

See *The World Before Abraham,* p. 66, paragraph beginning, 'The outcome, then,' etc.

'I think it is pretty generally conceded by biblical scholars that deception was not considered a sin among the early Hebrews. In I Kings 22, 22 Jehovah is represented as sending a lying spirit to deceive Ahab.' Dr. Mitchell's letter to President Warren. See Students' pamphlet p. 16.

Respectfully submitted,

(Signed)

R. C. Powers, Layman.
Harcourt W. Peck, Southern California Conference.
S. A. Thomson, South California Conference.
G. W. Coultas, South California Conference.
J. W. Shenk, North Nebraska Conference.
John W. Whittington, Layman.
H. W. Brodbeck, Layman.

THE WORLD BEFORE ABRAHAM DEFENDED

The complaint, the substance of which has been given in the preceding chapter was, as I have already stated, made in November, 1904, but I did not see a copy of it until March 17, 1905. My answer, a brief one, was in the hands of the President of the University the next day. It ran:

"My dear Dr. Warren:

I have just read the copy of the charges against me submitted to the Bishops by Harcourt W. Peck and others, which you sent me. It ought not to be necessary for me to reply to them, since substantially the same charges were fairly met and refuted in my defence of 1899, a copy of which I suppose, is in the hands of the Committee. Perhaps, however, it is advisable that I should call attention to a few points, lest my silence with reference to them should be interpreted as a confession of judgment.

In the first place it is clear that the charges are based on two fundamental assumptions; viz:

1. That Jesus in his humiliation was omniscient; and

2. That the inspired authors of our Scriptures were, by virtue of their inspiration, infallible. Of course, if these assumptions are correct, I am a

heretic. But I maintain that, as I showed in the paper above cited, they are not only denied by our great founder, Wesley, but unwarranted by Scripture or a rational Psychology, and I protest against being judged by such false standards."

But I will not go farther with this paper, since my book was actually defended in one which ought to have been much more effective, and which, fortunately, is available for my present purpose.

When the charges in question were presented to the Bishops they were referred to a Committee of seven Bishops, of which the Chairman was Bishop Andrews. He went into the case thoroughly and prepared a paper which he, no doubt, read to his Committee, if not before the entire Board, and which he afterward placed at the disposal of my counsel, when, in 1906, I was obliged to meet similar charges in the Annual Conference. In 1909 it was published, with some unessential omissions, in Bishop McConnell's biography of his deceased colleague. I shall reproduce it more nearly entire, that I may not be suspected of suppressing anything prejudicial to my case. The following are the words of the Bishop:

"THE CASE OF PROFESSOR MITCHELL.

1. The action of the General Conference of 1904 concerning the relation of the Bishops to theological professors was in two parts:

(a) It counseled the Bishops not to nominate or confirm as theological professors persons concerning whose agreement with our doctrinal standards they had reasonable doubt.

(b) It authorized and directed the Bishops, 'whenever specific charges of misteaching in any of our theological schools are made in writing by responsible parties, members or ministers of our Church, to appoint a committee of their own number, whose report, if adopted by the Bishops, shall be transmitted to the Trustees of the theological school involved for 'proper action in the premises.'

2. In November, 1904, the Bishops received from Rev. Harcourt W. Peck charges against the teachings of Professor Mitchell of the School of Theology of Boston University. Said charges were signed by four ministers and three laymen, all, presumably, living within the bounds of the Southern California Conference. Those of the ministerial signers (H. W. Peck, and J. W. Shenk, and G. W. Coultas), were active opponents of Professor Mitchell before his confirmation in May, 1900. The charges were duly referred to Bishops Andrews, Foss, Fitzgerald, Spellmeyer, and Wilson as a committee of investigation.

3. It appears on examination of the charges that they do not allege any instance of misteaching in Professor Mitchell's classes since May, 1900. All of the charges are based on his book entitled *The World Before Abraham*, published in 1901, and on an extract from a letter written by him to Dr. W. F. Warren, President of Boston University, under date of December 1, 1899. A letter, however, was placed in the hands of the Chairman of the Committee, written by T. A. Olsen to a Bro.

Cooke (no other indication of the person addressed being given), stating that the book, marked 'W. B. A.', is used in Professor Mitchell's classes. Inquiry being made of Professor Mitchell as to this point, he made answer as follows:

'Dear Bishop:

Yours of the 13th is received. In reply I can, of course, only state the facts, whatever may be the effect upon your Committee or the Board of Bishops.

Instruction in the School of Theology has always been given largely by means of lectures in which the professors were expected to present their views, the students being required, after reciting on their notes, and doing a certain amount of collateral reading, to pass an examination on the subject under consideration.

At first these lectures were delivered *viva voce,* but now, to save time and the labor that it costs the student to take notes, it has become the practice among us to print our lectures or put them into typewritten form expressly for our classes. I use the introductory pages of my *World Before Abraham* as the most convenient means of presenting to the Middle Class my views on the date and authorship of the Pentateuch; but I require them, at the same time, to read Green's *Higher Criticism of the Pentateuch* and write an essay on it. Finally, I examine them, not on my views, but on the subject studied, and mark them according to the ability they display, without reference to their attitude toward me or my teaching.

After we have finished our discussion of the Pentateuch,—which requires only eight or ten hours,—

The World Before Abraham is used only as a book of references.

This is my method in my instruction in Amos and Isaiah. It is practically the method employed by all the most successful teachers in the School and the University, and I know of no other by which men and women can, with better results, be taught to love the truth and acquire conscientious and defensible convictions. Moreover, my pupils unanimously testify that it helps them to a profounder reverence for the Pentateuch as a revelation of the divine will.

Sincerely yours,
(Signed) H. G. Mitchell.'

4. The direct evidence concerning Professor Mitchell's teachings cited from the W. B. A. and the letter to Dr. Warren, referred to above, is accompanied by two lists of so-called corroborative and interpretative evidence. These consist (1) of two citations (by reference only) from Professor Mitchell's letters to Dr. Warren, of May 27, 1899; and December 1, 1899; (2) of one reference to the testimony of S. A. Cooke in the hands of Bishop Fowler; and (3) of references to the printed testimony of eight students in the School of Theology. (Here, following the statement that three of these eight had withdrawn their testimony, are given the names of three from whom letters had been received.) How far these citations of testimony printed in 1900 are pertinent to the investigation, now pending, of the character of Professor Mitchell's teaching since, in May, 1900, he was confirmed, with a *quasi* reproof and admonition, by the Bishops, is a matter

for careful consideration. The question before us is this: Has the recent teaching of Professor Mitchell tended to awaken suspicion and antagonism among the students and to create doubt as to essential Christian verities? If the above cited testimony is to have weight, then the adverse testimony, that is, the testimony favorable to Professor Mitchell, now among the papers of the Secretary, which was before the Bishops in 1900, should be considered. They are, in part, the following:

1. The explicit testimony of twenty-nine members of the class of thirty-eight members for the year 1898-9 as to the spirit, the method, and the soundness of Professor Mitchell's teaching.

2. The urgent representation in his favor by nearly a hundred members of the New England Conference, among whom we note the name of almost every leading member of the Conference.

3. The appeal for his confirmation of nine presidents, and thirty-four members of the Faculty of Syracuse University.

4. Favorable representations by graduates of the years previous to 1899.

5. Discriminating between the allegations of fact made in the paper and the accompanying theological inferences drawn by the complainants, we find the allegations to be these four:

(1) Professor Mitchell teaches that Moses is not the author of the Pentateuch, as we now have it, it being a composite work, the growth of the entire period from Moses to Ezra.

(2) Professor Mitchell declares his opinion that Jesus in his humiliation was not omniscient.

(3) Professor Mitchell teaches that the first eleven chapters of Genesis are not strictly histori-

cal, this statement applying to the account of creation, of the temptation and fall of Adam and Eve, of the succession and length of life of the antediluvians, of the universality of the Deluge, and of some of the genealogical table from Adam to Noah.

(4) Professor Mitchell, in denying the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, denies that God gave to Moses some of the laws and statutes, as recorded in the Pentateuch, and that he gave them at the times and under the circumstances under which these laws and statutes are said to have been given.

It will be observed that Professor Mitchell is not accused in the paper referred to of teachings contrary to our standards of doctrine as to the central and vital articles of our creed; namely, the being, character and government of God; the deity of Christ (except by implications hereinafter to be examined); the personality and deity of the Holy Spirit; faith as the one condition of salvation; the Church and the sacraments; and future and final rewards and punishments. He is supposed to be ready to affirm, in the usual certificate, his conformity to the doctrines and polity of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

6. The questions before the Committee seem to be these two:

(1) Are the allegations of fact sustained by adequate evidence?

(2) If sustained, in whole or in part, do they sustain the charge of 'misteaching,' of teaching contrary to our doctrinal standards? Let us examine the allegations and evidence in the order given above.

I. 7. Does Professor Mitchell teach that Moses

is not the author of the Pentateuch, as we now have it?

Unquestionably. The W. B. A. repeatedly and unmistakably avows this opinion. Let, however, a more particular statement be made.

1. In W. B. A. Professor Mitchell distinctly recognizes Moses as the 'inspired' founder, lawgiver, and hero of Israel.

2. He distinctly recognizes portions of the Pentateuch as having by divine command been committed to writing by Moses.

3. In W. B. A. he expresses no doubt that other portions of the Pentateuch in which it is recorded that 'the Lord spake unto Moses,' and in which are narrated passages of the early history of Israel under the leadership of Moses, are true records of fact, whensoever and by whomsoever they were first committed to writing.

4. The opinion that Moses did not write the Pentateuch, as we now have it, though contrary to the opinion prevalent in our Church, cannot be shown to be contrary to the standards of doctrine; namely, the Articles of Religion, the Catechism, and (so far as the present writer knows) Mr. Wesley's first fifty-three sermons.

5. Nor is the opinion incompatible, as very many personal instances show, with a genuine and hearty faith in the divine origin, authority, and truth of the Christian religion according to the evangelical interpretation thereof.

6. The opinion of the Jewish Church contemporaneous with Christ is not conclusive on the question before us, nor even that of the sacred writers, except upon the theory that *inspiration* made all of

them *infallible,* not in theological truth only, but also in all matters, historical, genealogical, scientific, to which they may allude—a theory which seems to be less largely and less firmly held than in years gone by.

7. The question of the sources, authorship and authority of the Pentateuch is of very great moment to the Christian thought and life. It should therefore be dealt with reverently, cautiously, even with great solicitude, lest vital truth in any way be obscured. But the question is under most critical study by many men, some of them doubtless indifferent and hostile to revealed religion, but many of them devout, reverent, believing, as well as scholarly. It is an open question. But it will be finally settled in the forum of Christian reason.

Meanwhile the advice of Neander to the Prussian government, that the *Life of Christ* by Strauss, the skeptic, should not be put under the ban of authority, but should be met only by argument, should have place with us. The truth is mighty and will prevail.

II. 8. Does Professor Mitchell teach that in his opinion Jesus in his humiliation was not omniscient? Unquestionably. See W. B. A. pp. 16, 17. Yet he declares that he leaves his pupils free to choose between this and another theory in explaining the allusions of Christ to the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, as found in the New Testament. In the bill of charges by many and emphatic statements, it is set forth that the holding of this opinion as to the possible limitation of knowledge, in the humiliation, of Jesus is tantamount to the denial of his deity, and of all doctrines founded

thereon. Must this position be admitted? It is a sufficient answer to this question to cite the names, in some cases, the words, of men of unquestioned orthodoxy, of piety, and learning who have held or treated with deference the opinion which Professor Mitchell avows. (In its full dogmatic form this theory is called the *Kenosis,* 'the emptying himself,' of Phil. ii) I have not noticed that Professor Mitchell has avowed any general theory of the *Kenosis;* he seems only to have spoken of particular cases of limitation of knowledge in Jesus. While, therefore, the theory of the *Kenosis* may include his view, he cannot be held responsible for the theory as a whole.

CITATIONS

1. Dr. Whedon, in Methodist Review, 1861, p. 148 (abridged). 'A highly important contribution to the history of modern theology has been furnished by J. Bolenmeyer's *Doctrine of the Kenosis,* a doctrine which has gained a number of adherents among the Lutheran theologians of Germany. According to it, the Logos, at his incarnation, voluntarily divested himself of his divine self-consciousness, in order to develop himself in purely human form. On account of the importance which is attributed to it by a large number of theologians it well deserves to be made the subject of a special, thorough work.'

2. Dr. Whedon, in Methodist Review, 1870, p. 291 (abridged). 'The first article (in Bibliotheca Sacra), by Professor Reubelt, is learned and able, in favor of what is called the Kenosis. . . . We are not disposed to dogmatize on such a subject. We

must speak with respect of a dogma held by Dorner, Pressense and by Dr. Nast.' Dr. Whedon then proceeds to controvert the doctrine.

3. In Methodist Review for 1897, pp. 229-246, Dr. M. J. Cramer argues at length the limitation of knowledge in Jesus during his humiliation; and in the Methodist Review for 1904, pp. 234-236, G. P.Eckman, D. D., Pastor of St. Paul's Church, New York, affirms with copious argument the same position.

4. McClutock & Strong's Encyclopedia, article *Kenosis,* admits the difficulty, in its own language, of adjusting 'the God to the man,' argues against the *Kenosis,* but adds: 'The theory of a somewhat double consciousness, if we may so express it, or, at least, an occasional (and in early life prolonged) withdrawal of the divine cognitions from the human intellect . . . seems to be required to meet the varying aspects under which the compound life of Jesus presents itself in the Gospels.'

5. Dr. William Nast, founder of German Methodism, cited by Dr. Mitchell from vol. i of Commentary on Mark 13, 32: 'To say that Christ as a man knoweth it not, but as God knoweth it, is self-contradictory. To know, and, at the same time, not to know, a thing, would destroy the unity of the personality of the God-man, ... It was proper for him who became like unto us to be our pattern in his walking by faith, that, in the state of his humiliation, he should not know the completion of the aeon.'

6. Three unquestionably orthodox commentaries in my library, in commenting on Luke 2, 40-52; Matt. 24, 36; and Mark 13, 32, distinctly and un-

equivocally affirm the real ignorance of Jesus in his childhood, and when he said in Matthew and Mark 'neither the son.' See (1) Alford, vol. i, pp. 217, 227; (2) Stier, *Words of Jesus,* vol. i, p. 472; (3) Lange, *Commentary on Mark,* pp. 132-136.

7. Neander, *Life of Christ,* p. 368 on Mark, 13, 32. 'To know the time pre-supposes a knowledge of the hidden causes of events, of the actions and reactions of free agents—a prescience which none but the Father could have—unless we suppose, *what Christ expressly denies,* that he had received it by special divine revelation.'

8. Dr. Luke H. Wiseman, former President of the British Wesleyan Conference, is cited in Homiletical Cyclopaedia, p. 148, as follows: 'In his youth, at least, Jesus grew in wisdom. His attainment of knowledge at that period of his life was progressive. Nor can we reasonably suppose it was otherwise afterwards. He learned obedience by the things which he suffered.

9. Canon Gore, *Dissertations,* p. 94. 'We are forced to assert that within the sphere and period of his incarnate and mortal life he did—and, as it would appear, did habitually—. . . cease from the exercises of those divine functions and powers, including the divine omniscience, which would have been incompatible with a truly human experience.'

10. Godet, *Commentary,* on John, i. p. 362. 'Jesus no longer possesses on earth the attributes which constitute the divine state. Omniscience he has not, for he asks questions and himself declares his ignorance on one point' (Mark, 13, 32).

11. Gore, *Dissertations,* pp. 190, 191, cites, from Dr. Fairbairn a proof too long to be here

quoted, which asserts most vigorously the same doctrine, in substance, which Gore asserts. On p. 192 Gore also cites Bishop Martensen, the distinguished Danish theologian, as holding a kenotic theory.

12. Canon Gore also cites from Dean Church (p. 199) and Dr. Bight (201), distinguished English theologians, passages which, without careful definition, admit the possible limitation of knowledge in Christ.

13. Bruce, *Humiliation of Christ,* p. 392, cites from Delitzsch: 'The incarnate Logos is not in possession of the eternal *doxa,* for he desires to regain it (John 17, 5). He is not omniscient, for he knows not, as he himself says, the day and hour of the end (Mark 13, 32). He is not omnipotent,' etc.

14. Henry Van Dyke, D.D., ex-Moderator of the Presbyterian General Assembly, in *Gospel for an Age of Doubt,* argues at length and earnestly for the doctrines of the *Kenosis.*

15. He cites, p. 155, from Howard Crosby a full and strong passage which affirms the limitation of knowledge in Jesus from Bethlehem to Calvary.

16. In Dr. Terry's *Moses and the Prophets,* Appendix, pp. 181-194, Dr. C. J. Little, of Garrett Biblical Institute, Dr. Samuel Plantz, of Lawrence University and Dr. B. P. Raymond, of Wesleyan University, distinctly avow their belief that the knowledge of Jesus in his humiliation was limited.

17. To these add opinion of Robert W. Dale, of Birmingham, England.

In closing these statements attention is called to the fact that no German theologian but Delitzsch has been either quoted or referred to.

These citations of opinion are made with the single purpose of showing that men of high reputation for learning, piety, and orthodoxy have either held the opinion that the knowledge of Jesus during his humiliation was limited, or have held that such an opinion was not incompatible with faith in the deity of the Lord Jesus Christ. Great is the mystery of the incarnation. It is a depth in which human thought is lost. Whether we adopt or reject the theory of limitation, we are equally unable to explain how 'the Word became flesh'. And, in view of the citations made, it cannot be thought a fatal error to hold and to teach this theory, if it be done reverently and undogmatically.

III. 9. Does Professor Mitchell teach that the first eleven chapters of Genesis are not to be considered strictly historical? Unquestionably. See W. B. A. *passim.* He does not seem to base this opinion on the doctrine of evolution, which the W. B. A. nowhere treats, or even, so far as we have noticed, alludes to; nor on any theory of anti-supernaturalism. He rather finds support for it chiefly in (1) the variations found in the two accounts of creation, and also of the Flood: (2) in the failure, thus far, to reconcile Genesis and geology: (3) in the peculiar incidents found in the accounts of the temptation and fall, and the resemblance between it and the myths common with many ancient people; and (4) in the incredible length of life assigned to individual antediluvians. I suppose all thinking men have struggled to some degree with the difficulties existing in these eleven chapters. We have given up the literal days, and have substituted for them indefinite aeons. We

have questioned whether the serpent, or, on the other hand, some infernal spirit in the guise of a serpent, or of a monkey, as Adam Clarke supposes, was the tempter. We have wondered whether the history of long-lived individual antediluvians ought not to be considered as rather the history of tribes or dynasties, or whether the so-called *years* of their lives were meant for smaller divisions of time; and we no longer think of the Nochian Deluge as being universal, though it is said to have covered the 'earth' and 'all the high mountains under heaven.'

But in judging Professor Mitchell's teaching on this head, it is sufficient to consider that, in his opinion on the non-history of the eleven chapters, he represents the opinion of by far the larger proportion of the leading biblical scholars of the time. It would be difficult to name any large number of eminent and orthodox scholars familiar with modern critical studies whose views are not adverse to the strict historicity of the chapters. They find, as does Professor Mitchell, great religious truths concerning God, man, sin, judgment, preparation for redemption, put before us in forms more or less historical, but not to be treated as unerring history. I cite some of the names of these leaders of theological thought:

In Germany,
Professor Delitzsch, the champion of orthodoxy.
Fritz Hommel, Munich.

In Great Britain,
Professor A. B. Davidson, Edinburgh.
Marcus Dods, "
A. R. S. Kennedy, "

James Orr, Edinburgh.
Rev. Dr. Stalker, Kilcaldy, Scot.
Professor Henry Drummond.
J. H. Bernard, Oxford.
William Sanday, "
A. H. Sayce, "
Principal Fairbairn,
Caird,
Bishop Ryle, Manchester.
Professor Findlay, Wesleyan.
Ex-Pres. J. Shaw Bangs, Wesleyan.
Rev. Hugh Price Hughes, "

In America,
President Cuthbert Hall, Union Theological Seminary.
King, Oberlin College.
C. J. Little, Garrett Biblical Institute.
Samuel Plantz, Lawrence University.
B. P. Raymond, Wesleyan University.
Strong, Rochester University.
Professor W. N. Clarke, Colgate University.
C. F. Kent, Yale University.
John McFadyan, Knox College.
L. B. Paton, Hartford Theological Seminary.
Israel Peritz, Syracuse University.
F. K. Sanders, Yale University.
Bishop J. W. Bashford.
Rev. Dr. G. A. Gordon, Congregationalist, Boston.

John P. Peters, New York City.
W. Hayes Ward, " " "

[I have taken the liberty of re-arranging this list for convenience of reference.]

IV. 10. In denying the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch does Professor Mitchell deny the statement of the Pentateuch, that God often gave laws to Moses, and that he did this at the times and under the cirumstances set forth in the narrative? The answer should be nay and yea. He does not deny—he does deny.

1. Professor Mitchell does not deny, but holds, that Moses received from God laws and statutes for Israel; that Moses wrote various parts of the Pentateuch, including these and certain historic matters; and he implies his belief that other laws and statements were received by Moses from God, which were, perhaps, written down at a later date and by other hands.

2. But Professor Mitchell holds that some parts of the Pentateuch said to come from God through Moses were framed and incorporated with preceding divine laws by men much later than Moses.

How this supposed fact can be reconciled with a true ethical sense in those who thus, in the name of Moses, added to the laws of Moses, how the Jewish people came to accept the additions as from Moses, and how far, and in what manner, the credit of the Pentateuch and of the Old Testament is affected thereby, are among the difficult problems of modern scholarship. But here, as in the matters foregoing, Professor Mitchell is in harmony with very eminent and orthodox scholars.

11. Some communications have been placed in the hands of the Chairman to which attention should be given:—

[The letters were from two gentlemen mentioned by name and "representative students of former years", but are not given in the paper.]

Undoubtedly there is unrest in the Church, resulting from the higher criticism. Probably the faith of some in the Christian religion is weakened thereby. In some cases the pulpit utters the Christian verities in a subdued tone. We lament it. We regret the simple and unquestioned confidence of former years in the literal truth of every word of the Scriptures. But the remedy is not in suppressing inquiry. That must, that will go on. It makes this a time of transition. But the aim, the spirit, the thoroughness of the inquiry will bring us good. Never was Christian scholarship more devout, more single of eye, more positive in evangelical conviction than now. Patience, prayer, Christian work will make the Church safe."

There are many things that I might say in this connection, but I refrain, because to add them seems to me hardly fair in the circumstances. I am laying my case before the reader for his judgment as to the justice of the charges and the disposition made of them. I question whether it would be fair to the plaintiffs further to discuss the charges without allowing them to appear in rebuttal, or to the Bishops to introduce evidence of which they may not have been in possession when their decision was rendered. I will therefore next introduce the report of that decision sent to the Trustees of the University.

The matter was taken in hand at Louisville, Ky., where the Bishops had assembled for their May meeting of 1905. There were at that time, I believe, fifteen active members in the Board. One of them was in China; the other fourteen, it was said, were at the meeting. Some of the retired bishops, also, were present; two as members of the Committee to which the charges had been referred in November. The Committee reported on April 26, and on May 1 the Board reached a decision,

of which the Trustees of the University were informed in the following communication:

"Action of the Board of Bishops concerning Prof. H. G. Mitchell, D.D. May 1, 1905.

The General Conference of 1904 adopted the following action:—

'The Bishops are hereby counseled not to nominate or confirm any professor in our theological schools concerning whose agreement with our doctrinal standards they have a reasonable doubt. The Bishops are hereby authorized and directed, whenever specific charges of misteaching in any of our theological schools are made, in writing, by responsible parties, members or ministers of our Church, to appoint a committee of their own number to investigate such charges, whose report, if adopted by the Bishops, shall be transmitted to the Trustees of the school involved, for proper action in the premises.'

Under this provision complaints against the teachings of Professor H. G. Mitchell, a professor in the School of Theology of the Boston University, presented to the Bishops last November, were carefully investigated by a Committee of the Board appointed at that time.

On April 26 that Committee reported to the Board of Bishops and, after full consideration and slight amendment, the report was adopted as follows:

'To the Board of Bishops:

The Committee appointed in November, 1904, to investigate certain complaints made in writing against the teachings of Hinckley G. Mitchell,

D.D., a professor in the School of Theology of Boston University, signed by three laymen and four ministers of our Church, having carefully considered the matter committed to them, respectfully report as follows:

1. The evidence submitted to us is not sufficient to prove the first complaint, namely, that Professor Mitchell denies the deity of Christ.

2. Some of the statements of Professor Mitchell concerning the historic character of the early chapters of the book of Genesis seem to us unwarranted and objectionable, and as having a tendency to invalidate the authority of other portions of the Scriptures. We therefore think there is some ground of complaint on this head contained in the paper laid before us.

3. Having carefully considered the other matters presented in the complaint, we are of the opinion that item number 2 covers the case, and no further deliverance is necessary.

Be it therefore resolved:

1. That the Secretary of the Board of Bishops be, and is hereby, instructed to transmit to the Trustees of Boston University a copy of this statement, including the report on the complaints against Professor Mitchell for 'proper action in the premises.'

2. That, having been notified by the Trustees of their action favoring the continuance of Professor Mitchell in his professorship, the Board of Bishops, as a matter of courtesy to the Trustees, and in view of the findings in item no. 2 of our report recited above, and of the reasonable inferences therefrom, respectfully returns the nomination of Professor Mitchell without action.

The foregoing is a true copy of the action of the Board of Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church, taken in their conference at Louisville, Ky., Monday, May 1, 1905.

John M. Walden,
Sec'y.' "

The Bishops did not notify me of their action with reference to my confirmation, as they were required to do by a proviso attached to a report adopted by the General Conference of 1900 by which they were allowed to confirm elections to professorships in the theological schools by not fewer than a majority. Their report was read to the Trustees at a special meeting, May 11, by Bishop Goodsell, who interpreted it in such a way as to leave the impression, according to President Huntington, "that the question of confirmation had not been closed by the Bishops." The Trustees, therefore, "felt obliged to see that a careful review be made and a clear judgment formed" as to my fitness for the place to which I had been elected. The following Committee was chosen for this purpose: Ex-Governor John L. Bates, LL.D., Rev. J. W. Lindsay, D.D., Rev. Daniel Steele, D.D., Rev. Edward M. Taylor, D.D., Rev. Willard T. Perrin, PH.D., Rev. John D. Pickles, PH.D., Silas Peirce, Esq., and the President of the University.

The Trustees notified me officially of what the Bishops had done. I replied in the following paper:

May 15, 1905.

To the Trustees of Boston University:

Gentlemen:

I have, by your permission, carefully read the communication recently addressed to you by the Bishops, in which they announce the result of their consideration of the charges brought against me by the Rev. H. W. Peck and others to the effect that, in my teaching, as represented by the book entitled *The World Before Abraham,* I present views at variance with, and subversive of, the doctrines of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The rule made by the last General Conference, under which the action of the Bishops was taken, does not state that action under it is to be regarded as a final refusal to confirm the teacher whose orthodoxy is questioned. It really implies the contrary, and, in fact, it is clear from the language of this communication as well as the statements of individual Bishops, that they acted on this understanding. Since then, they have not actually refused to confirm my re-election, but only reported that, at present, there exists in the minds of some of them 'a reasonable doubt' with reference to the soundness of my views, it seems to me proper to call your attention to certain considerations which justify you in re-electing me, and in reiterating your request that I be confirmed in my professorship.

In the first place, let me respectfully call your attention to the fact that, in the report sent you, the Bishops base the 'reasonable doubt' which they en-

tertain on a general characterization of 'some of the statements' of my book, without indicating what particular statements are meant, or for what particular reason, or reasons, they should be considered unsatisfactory; so that you really have no sufficient warrant for reconsidering the subject of my re-election.

Secondly, the terms in which the statements in question are condemned are hardly in harmony with the requirements of the rule under which the Bishops claim to have acted. That instructs the Bishops to refuse to confirm when they find reason for doubting the agreement of a given teacher with 'our doctrinal standards.' But one can hardly be considered in disagreement with certain standards unless the opinions held are shown to be condemned by such standards, and he who holds them to have admitted the fact. I submit with all deference that this condition has not been fulfilled.

Thirdly since the Bishops declare the evidence submitted insufficient to prove me guilty of denying the deity of Christ in the face of my repeated declarations on the subject, it seems inconsistent that they should not have given more weight than they did to my statements with reference to my faith in the divine origin and the supreme excellence of our Bible. I have always taught—and there is nothing in *The World Before Abraham,* to indicate a contrary opinion—that the first chapters of Genesis cannot be explained without supposing that their author (or authors) enjoyed a measure of the influence of the divine Spirit of which, so far as I know, there are no traces in contemporaneous literature. All that can justly be alleged is that my criterion of inspiration is not historical or

scientific accuracy, but religious value and significance.

Fourthly, it seems to me that the Bishops have not given proper importance to the evidence submitted to show that, whatever one might *a priori* predict that the tendency of my views on the first chapters of Genesis would be, as a matter of fact they have not robbed the Scriptures, or any part of them, of any of their real value. I certainly should deny that it had had any such effect on me to hold them, or that any of my pupils had suffered in their faith through accepting them. I am constantly in receipt of letters from graduates of the School proving the contrary. Here is what the Rev. S. L. Stewart of Clyde, Ohio, one of the men who, ten years ago, as a student, signed a petition asking an investigation of my department, says in a letter just received:

'I want to tell you that, as the years have gone, your work has become most valuable of all I took in the School of Theology. I could not see things then as you tried to explain them, but I know now it was only my immaturity of vision and scholarship. Ten years of hard study has convinced me that your viewpoint is the only one that can be maintained.'

The members of the present Senior class, with one exception, and he explained his refusal as no reflection on my teaching, but the contrary,—recently signed a statement, which was sent to the Bishops during their recent meeting, in my favor.

Finally, let me add a statement concerning my attitude in the present crisis. I, of course, think that the views presented in my book are correct; but, if any Trustee or Bishop, or other friend of the

truth, will show me that I am in error in any case, I shall be glad to abandon them for better ones; for I am neither afraid nor ashamed to change my mind. The methods I employ are the best and most successful I have been able to invent; but I am not wedded to them, and I shall change them as soon as I learn how I can get as good or better results without offending anybody. I am naturally jealous for my department, but I should be willing—and I commend this suggestion to you—to have all my work, except the study of Hebrew in the first year, made elective, provided those who did not take it were required to take an equivalent amount of exegesis in the department of the New Testament. In fine, I am willing to make any concession that will not abridge my right as a scholar to think as I must and, with all fairness, charity, and loyalty, present the truth as I see it, and to the extent to which it seems to me vital, concerning the Old Testament, and the revelation of God's will and ways which I devoutly believe it to contain.

I have written at this length, because, as I can prove in detail, the charges on which the action of the Bishops was based are mistaken and groundless, and I should consider it an injustice to me, and a serious injury to the School of Theology and the Methodist Episcopal Church, if you endorsed them by withdrawing my name, and thus virtually branding me as a heretic before the world. I invite you to examine, as thoroughly as you will, me and my book, and the methods of my department, and convince yourselves of the justice of my contention.

Respectfully submitted,
H. G. MITCHELL.

How the Trustees met the situation, I will let President Huntington tell in the words of his Annual Report, dated January 8, 1906. He says:

"The Bishops did not attempt to define to the Trustees what definite action ought to be taken by them, in order that it should be 'proper action in the premises.' No hint was given as to what course the Trustees should pursue. This committee of the Board, carefully selected, of representative and competent men, was expected to review the case and prepare a report, which was to be passed upon by the Trustees and finally sent to the Board of Bishops, to convene in Washington Oct. 25, 1905.

Four courses were open to the Trustees as represented by this committee:

First, the committee might have considered that 'proper action' would be to induce Dr. Mitchell to withdraw from his position in the University as professor-elect in the Faculty of the School of Theology. But how could the Trustees ask Dr. Mitchell to withdraw, when, after episcopal examination, he had not been found guilty of any disagreement with the doctrinal standards of the Methodist Episcopal Church? The single charge that was entertained by the Bishops against him did not relegate him to the limbo of heretics; *for no standard of interpretation of the early chapters of Genesis has ever been published by the authority of the Methodist Episcopal Church for the di-*

rection of the thinking of its ministers and teachers. So that ever so gracious a request from the Trustees to Dr. Mitchell to withdraw from his place would have been groundless, impertinent, and absurd.

Second, it might have been surmised by the committee, that the Trustees should seek to prevail upon Dr. Mitchell to withdraw his book, *The World Before Abraham,* from further use in the School, and so take 'proper action'; but the book as a whole was not objectionable; 'some statements' only were under criticism. Moreover, it was found by the committee that the book was only used for about twelve lessons each year during a brief discussion of Pentateuchal questions. To withdraw his book would have been a weak acknowledgment that his teaching hitherto in this field of interpretation had been mischievous.

Third, by a slow process of correspondence it might have been possible to elicit from the Bishops a statement of the exact passages in Dr. Mitchell's book found 'objectionable and unwarranted.' If such quotations could have been obtained these specific parts of the book might have been brought to the attention of Dr. Mitchell by the committee, and a restatement of such passages urged upon him; but the official report of the Bishops gave no quotations; the resident Bishop had not thrown light upon the objectionable passages when he presented the case to the Trustees. Therefore the committee supposed that such specific items could not be obtained.

Fourth, the only other alternative left for the committee to pursue in taking 'proper action' was to proceed as it did. A long conference

was held with Dr. Mitchell. He was given every chance to define his position in regard to the essential doctrines of the Church, in reference to Pentateuchal questions, and in respect to his relation to modern exegetical scholarship. After a conference of several hours the committee could not discover that he was unsound in his belief in fundamental doctrines, nor that he is a representative of extreme views among biblical scholars of the age, but rather is a representative of middle and safe ground as an Old Testament exegete.

Wide-reaching investigation was made among the graduates of the School of Theology in regard to Dr. Mitchell's teaching and its effect upon their thought and their work in the ministry. The more general such inquiry, and the more numerous the testimonials, the clearer it became to the committee that Dr. Mitchell had been an effective, devoted and inspiring teacher — confirming and not undermining the faith of the wavering, holding, by patient personal work, those who otherwise might have gone out into vagrancy in theology, and giving them secure foundations for an intelligent and vital faith.

It was thought by the committee that the members of his own Faculty who had known him intimately for many years should be allowed to add their testimony in this investigation that the committee was prosecuting. The honored ex-President of the University, now Dean of the School of Theology, who knew Dr. Mitchell's work in the University from its beginning, who had been counsellor and administrator of affairs at former crises in Dr. Mitchell's career, was asked to lead the Faculty in making up their contribution to the case of their colleague. In his most careful and pains-

taking way Dr. Warren drew up a paper that was submitted to the Faculty, revised and re-revised by it with minutest attention to every statement and phrase of the testimonial. . . . It was this testimonial that was presented, with scarcely any change, to the Board of Bishops by the three delegates from the Trustees, who were granted a hearing October 27 in Washington.

"The Committee of eight finished its work October 21 by submitting the following report at a special meeting of the Trustees held on that date:

'Your Committee have carefully considered the matter referred to us, and unanimously recommend to the Trustees the adoption of the following preamble and resolutions; to wit:

Whereas we have carefully considered the action taken by the Board of Bishops last May concerning Professor Hinckley G. Mitchell and communicated to us by its commissioner, Bishop Daniel A. Goodsell; and

Whereas, after such consideration we are firmly persuaded that Professor Mitchell holds the essential doctrines of Methodism, maintains a commendable attitude towards the truth, is himself a devout Christian believer, and as an eminent scholar is peculiarly fitted to continue in the chair he has so successfully held for twenty years; therefore

Resolved, First, that we, the Trustees of Boston University, hereby respectfully renew our request to the Board of Bishops, that the reappointment by us of Dr. Hinckley G. Mitchell as Professor of Hebrew and Old Testament Exegesis for the five years dating from Commencement Day, 1905, may be confirmed.

Resolved, Second, that we earnestly hope favorable action may be taken by the Board of Bishops at its meeting the present month, inasmuch as all courses of instruction in Old Testament subjects in the School of Theology are, and from the beginning of the year have been, suspended.

Resolved, Third, that for the fuller presentation of our request to the Board of Bishops we hereby appoint a Committee of three; namely: William E. Huntington, President of the University, Willard T. Perrin, Secretary of the Board of Trustees, and William F. Warren, Dean of the Faculty of the School of Theology.

Resolved, Fourth, that we hereby respectfully invite Bishop Daniel A. Goodsell to bear, as our commissioner, the foregoing action to the Board of Bishops, and we request him to use his good offices to secure for our Committee a favorable hearing."

The above is little more than an outline of the work done by the Trustees to secure my confirmation, it certainly justifies the claim with which President Huntington closes his statement:

"The Trustees of the University have acted throughout this trying case with utmost loyalty to the Church, with unceasing deference to the episcopal authorities, and in perfect consistency from the beginning to the end. They have stood almost unanimously in defense of a faithful teacher, for proper academic freedom in theological teaching, and for such ideals in ministerial education as are respected in the high places of Christian learning."

It remains to present the reply of the Bishops,

acting as a body, although only a bare majority of them were opposed to my confirmation, to the above petition. It read as follows:

"Washington, October 31, 1905.

With reference to any action taken by the Bishops in the case of any candidate for confirmation as teacher in any of our theological seminaries, it should be understood by all concerned that such action proceeds under the following directions of the General Conference of 1900 and 1904.

1900.

'Whereas, the charters and statutes of our theological schools differ widely from each other in the conditions precedent to the election and re-election of professors, it is evident no uniform requirement can be imposed by the General Conference upon the institutions in the matter of elections. We recommend, however, as a condition of recognition of a theological school as a school of the Methodist Episcopal Church, that the General Conference require that its professors shall be confirmed by a majority vote of the Bishops present and voting at any regular meeting of their board. We further recommend that, in case of a re-election, if a majority of the Bishops present and voting at any regular meeting of the board fails to concur, the Bishops shall state fully and in writing the grounds of non-concurrence both to the professor concerned and to the trustees of the theological school.

1904.

1. The General Conference has declared the theological schools to exist for the entire Church, and

the schools themselves have by charter or otherwise given the Bishops the right to nominate or confirm the election of professors in the various departments, which right the Bishops have repeatedly exercised.

2. We therefore again commit the theological seminaries of the Church to the careful supervision of the Board of Bishops, to the end that the Church may be protected from erroneous teachings and the schools from unwarranted assault.

3. The Bishops are hereby counseled not to nominate or confirm any professor in our theological schools concerning whose agreement with our doctrinal standards they have a reasonable doubt.

4. The Bishops are hereby authorized and directed, whenever specific charges of misteaching in any of our theological schools are made in writing by responsible parties, members or ministers of our Church, to appoint a committee of their own number to investigate such charges, whose report, if adopted by the Bishops, shall be transmitted to the Trustees of the theological school involved for proper action in the premises.

5. We urge that Bishops diligently strive to allay all undue irritation upon this subject, and 'maintain and set forward quietness, love, and peace among all men.'

We admonish all instructors in our schools to studiously avoid, as far as possible, all occasion of misunderstanding of their doctrinal attitude both in their oral teaching and in their publications, and that they counsel their pupils to carefully avoid statements which would disturb the faith of those to whom they minister.

We deprecate the dissemination of distrust in the Church by indiscriminate and indefinite attacks upon religious teachers and theological institutions. The Discipline of our Church provides ample tests for determining the doctrinal soundness of preachers and teachers. All charges of erroneous teaching should be presented to the proper tribunal, where they can be legally tried and where the rights of both the accuser and the accused are fully protected by constitutional safeguards.

We find nothing in either of these deliverances to suggest that any candidate or nominee whose confirmation is contested, shall be put upon trial before the Bishop. The investigation ordered by the General Conference in such a case is not, and, in the nature of the case, cannot be, a disciplinary trial. On the contrary, the last sentence of the action of 1904 distinctly recognizes the constitutional right of such accused teacher to a trial by the method, and before the tribunal, prescribed in the book of Discipline.

It would therefore be improper for the Bishops to so conduct their inquiries under this legislation as to seem to encroach upon the province of the Annual Conference.

Furthermore, we realize that the prerogative conferred upon the Bishops by the law above quoted is one of great delicacy, and should therefore be exercised only within the safest possible limitation, in order to avoid embarrassing legal complications. Hence in our previous action in the case of Professor H. G. Mitchell we were careful not to go beyond what was absolutely required by the order of the General Conference (above referred to).

After careful deliberation, we sent to the Board

of Trustees which had elected Professor Mitchell a courteous statement of the reasons why we felt constrained to return his name without formal action, being careful to convey in the most delicate way at our command our conclusion in regard to the charges that had been filed with us against his teaching, in order that 'proper action in the premises' might be taken. Having, at our present session, heard a statement of the process adopted by said Trustees and of their reasons for returning the nomination of Professor Mitchell, again asking our confirmation of his election, which statement was made by an authorized committee of the Trustees, we are now compelled to say:

That our action of six months ago was equivalent to a refusal to confirm the election of Professor Mitchell, and that we have no reason to alter the conclusion then reached, which was based upon the conviction that 'some of the statements (contained in his book) concerning the historic character of the book of Genesis seem to be unwarranted and objectionable as having a tendency to invalidate the authority of other portions of the Scriptures.' It is furthermore our opinion that we are not even at liberty to reopen the question of Professor Mitchell's confirmation under the law above cited. Unanimously adopted.

By order and on behalf of the Bishops,
John M. Walden, Secretary.

I was in Washington when this action was taken, having gone thither at the suggestion of one of the Bishops, that I might be within call if my testimony on any important point was needed. The report of what had been done came to me that eve-

ning by telephone in four words: "Sorry; but we've failed"; and this brief message dispelled any hope I had cherished that I might be of further service as a teacher to the Methodist Church; but my faith in God and his truth was unshaken.

This was not the last of the Mitchell Case. The Bishops evidently intended that it should be. In fact they refused to discuss it further, when, some months after their second refusal to confirm me, I asked them which of my statements concerning the historical character of the early chapters of Genesis had offended them. The Editor of Zion's Herald thought it "well to have this disturbing, compromising matter come to an end." The Trustees, naturally impatient to see work in the department of the Old Testament resumed, accepted the decision of the Bishops and elected one of the ablest of our alumni to the place that I had occupied. But there is a proverb to the effect that "a thing is never settled until it is settled rightly," and this case proved no exception. However, since the proper end was slow in coming, and meanwhile much of more than passing interest had happened, I am going to devote this present chapter to this interval, which proved to be one of the most important periods of my life.

In the first place I must record the generosity with which the Trustees helped me out of the em-

barrassing situation in which I was placed by the refusal of the Bishops to confirm me. In September, when my Conference met, since I could not take for granted that I should be, I asked Bishop Spellmeyer to appoint me Instructor in the Semitic Languages in Boston University, a position I had for some time held, but for which I did not need episcopal approval. This appointment, of course, was purely provisional, but, when the Bishops had taken their final action, the Trustees confirmed it and granted me leave of absence for the year on half my former salary. This provision relieved me from the necessity of immediately seeking a new position, but left me free to accept anything that offered.

Here, again, I have to record an experience that fills me with wonder and gratitude whenever I recall it. Two or three days after the action of the Bishops I received a letter from President Hall of the Union Theological Seminary, with whom I had no acquaintance, in which he asked me to preach to his students in January on Faith and Biblical Criticism. I was naturally greatly surprised by this invitation, the more so because I seldom preached anywhere, and never with much confidence or satisfaction. My first impulse, therefore, was to decline it with thanks for the sympathy

it was evidently intended to convey; but I was in such a frame of mind that I was finally moved to say to myself: "This looks as if God were with me. If He is, and I do my best, He'll see that I don't fail." I therefore wrote to Dr. Hall that I would come, and at once went to work on my sermon. And what a blessing the preparation of that sermon was! After twenty-five years of continuous teaching I had suddenly been deprived of the stimulus and encouragement which I had found in contact with young lives and threatened with indefinite inactivity and unhappiness. The subject suggested at once took possession of me, but for three or four weeks so many students, alumni, and other sympathizers called or wrote to me, that I could not give much thought to it or anything else, even to my meals. When, however, the time came I went to New York on an earnest defense of the critics as the friends, and not the enemies, of the Bible and religion. I do not now how effective it was; I do not remember that any one said anything either complimentary or the contrary to me about it; but I remember that, as I was leaving the chapel, Bishop Andrews, whom I had seen in the congregation, stopped me and, as he shook my hand, whispered in my ear, "Have faith and patience";

and I took no further thought of my success or failure as a preacher.

I have no reason to suppose that President Hall or any one else, when I was invited to New York, had in mind anything but a dignified public expression of sympathy; but a surprise was awaiting me. It came the next evening, when I was at a gathering of Presbyterian ministers, where it fell to me to sit beside Professor Briggs. In the course of our conversation he referred to the recent death of President Harper and remarked that, since Dr. Harper had written only one of the three volumes in the *International Commentary* assigned to him, he (Dr. Briggs) was obliged to find one or more others to take his place. He added that he had thought of me, but, as another Methodist had declined, explaining that no scholar of our Church could now safely take any share in such a project, he had supposed that it would be useless to approach me on the subject. Now, I had for a long time felt that I should like to try my hand on something more thoroughly critical than the books I had hitherto written, but I had been debarred for lack of time from so large an undertaking. I saw at once, of course, that here was an opportunity for me to realize my ambition, and not having the fear of

what man could do to me before my eyes, I said as calmly as I could, "Try it." Thereupon he told me that he should be glad to have me take Haggai and Zechariah and write commentaries on these books in the general style of the *International Series*. Before we separated it was so agreed, and I, who but a few days before had been denied permission to teach my Methodist brothers, found myself commissioned anew, and this time to a much wider world.

I began my task as soon as I returned to Boston and spent upon it two delightful years. It took me so long because, having seen Dr. Harper's *Amos and Hosea* criticized as not so much an interpretation of these two books as a history of their interpretation, I, with Professor Briggs's approval, undertook to produce a more independent work. To this end I first made a very careful translation of the Massoretic text of the books assigned me. Then I compared the great versions and corrected the original and my rendering by them where they seemed to have preserved a better reading, only a few times, where they failed me, resorting to conjecture. Next, taking the books in their order, I gave them as thorough exegetical treatment as I could and wrote a commentary, with the requisite introductory studies and separate sections of

critical notes. This I did almost without consulting even the recognized "authorities" on the same books, thus producing something which, whatever its exegetical value, had the merit of comparative originality. I did not, however, intend to ignore my predecessors. When, therefore, I had thus put into writing the (as I thought) unprejudiced results of my own studies, I took the commentaries on my prophets that were of any importance and went rapidly through them, noting their views and the reasons for them, especially where they conflicted with those that I had taken. In the light of these notes I revised my comments, correcting them where I found myself clearly mistaken, but maintaining my position in any case in which the dissenter failed to produce the better reasons. Finally I rewrote my entire manuscript as rapidly as possible, mending faulty connections, and those obscure or inadequate expressions which perplex and hinder the reader, wherever I detected them, and sent it to New York. I was naturally pleased when Professor Briggs informed me that I had been admitted to the goodly fellowship of contributors to the International, but it did not add to my gratification to reflect that, but for the groundless prejudice against biblical criticism by which it was blinded, the Methodist

Church might have been better represented.

I enjoyed great inward peace during these two years, in spite of the fact that, after the first, I ceased to be connected with Boston University and the continuance of my studies meant temporary self-denial for me and mine. But the work I was doing seemed to both of us so important that we never thought of changing our course. When we came to the end of the second year it had been so abundant in blessing that I should have accused myself of ingratitude if I had found myself worrying about the future. I was not in the least anxious, but, about a week before I finished my commentary, I said, "I wonder what the good Lord wants me to do next." Well, within the week I received from Professor Mathews of the University of Chicago, to whom I was then a stranger, a letter in which he informed me that he was editing for Macmillan & Co. a series of popular commontaries to be called *The Bible for Home and School,* and that he wished me to write the volume on Genesis. This offer was not, from the pecuniary point of view, very alluring, but, as it seemed providential, and as I had a good share of the material for the proposed volume in *The World Before Abraham,* I accepted it. It did not, of course, take me as long as my last book,

but the work I did on it was just as conscientious and when, in about a year, it was done, I was pretty well satisfied with it. I have not liked it so well since it was published, because the publishers, against my advice, uselessly designated every word or phrase on which there was a comment by a°, thus increasing the number of references until the text, as I told them, looked like a speckled hen. They also, without my knowledge, added an index which was so inadequate that one of the reviewers of the book held it up to ridicule.

I finished my *Genesis* in the spring of 1909. When it was done it seemed wise for us to take another vacation. We therefore arranged with some friends to go to Europe by the southern route and spend a month together in Italy. The voyage was delightful, the weather being perfect and our company well suited to one another. On landing we spent a few days in Naples and its vicinity, and a few more in Rome; after which we made a tour of the hill towns to the north, Braciano, Viterbo, Montefiascone, Orvieto, Spoleto, Assisi, Perugia. All these places were new to us and highly interesting for their sites, their historical associations, and their artistic treasures; especially the second and the last three. We spent only a fortnight—all too brief a visit—among them, but we obtained

a lastingly enjoyable impression with reference to them and their peculiar attractions.

After a few days at Florence we left our friends and pushed on to Germany, our first objective being Munich, where we heard two performances at the musical festival then in progress, spending the five days between them on the Starnberger Sea.

Our next stop was at the quaint little city of Dünkelsbühl, a rival of Rothenburg, whence we went to Nürnberg, Nauheim, Eisenach, and finally Leipzig. Here we rested nearly a fortnight, meanwhile enjoying our friends and the musical advantages of the city. Then we went by way of Celle, the home of the Georges, to England.

This was our last visit to Germany, and the least pleasant of all that we had ever made. It was not the Germany of the days of the old Kaiser. For twenty years we had seen materialism and militarism more and more completely mastering the national life until we could no longer feel at home among its people. This time, therefore, although we could not refuse our old friends the tribute of an auf wiedersehen, we were not sure that we wished ever to come again. Not that we dreamed of hostility between the two countries, for we thought we knew the Germans, and we should have scouted the idea that they, with their lack of genu-

ine initiative, would ever attain a position from which they could hope to conquer the world.

The time we had yet to spare was mainly spent in genealogical excursions. The first was to Kent in search of information concerning the Hinckleys, the American representative of our branch of that family having emigrated from Tenterden in that county.

Next we went to Wales, to revisit the surviving members of the family, the Rowlandses, to which my maternal grandfather belonged, and, if possible, to learn more about their early history.

Finally, we took a trip to Ireland and spent two weeks in Dublin and Londonderry, searching the records of the latter city for traces of the lineage of Alexander Wilson, one of Mrs. Mitchell's ancestors, who came to this country after helping to defend it successfully in the siege of 1688.

These researches were not very productive. I was not born to be a genealogist. I have no memory for names and dates, like a friend of mine who carries in his mind thousands of such items when he is at work. But it was interesting and instructive to see the places from which our ancestors sprang, and sometimes the very houses in which some of them actually lived. It helped us to feel that we were really of their blood.

I come now to the final stage in my experience as an alleged heretic. It is not so serious as those that preceded. Indeed, there are those, cynically disposed, who will find an element of humor in it. "The judicious," however, will not lack for things done or omitted over which to "grieve."

It is a recognized fact that any one who happens to be the object of serious criticism is liable to become a mark for more or less unbalanced enthusiasts. Sometimes the result is murder. I do not know that I was ever in danger from knife or bullet, but I was shadowed, so to speak, for more than three years by a former student who three times brought formal charges, or attempted to, against me. He first approached me with cunning in the following letter:

My dear Prof. Mitchell:

It must be very unpleasant for you to have so much talk about heresy associated with your teaching. I should think you would demand an investigation by an impartial committee of your Conference, so as to set the mind of the Church at rest on the subject. I have been wondering if you would not appreciate having a charge of heresy preferred against you, so the matter could be thoroughly sifted this fall. It is not fair to *you* to allow so much talk, if you are innocent. It is not fair to the *Church* to have you teaching young ministers, if

you do teach falseness about the Bible and its doctrines.

Cordially,

. . . . . .

I paid no attention to his suggestion, but he preferred his charges; not, however, to my Conference, but to the Bishops, at a meeting of the Board of Missions, in Boston, about the time that the delegation from Southern California presented theirs, namely, November, 1904. The Bishops seem to have ignored him.

The next spring he introduced a resolution aimed at me, during the session of the New England Conference, of which he was then a member, but it was promptly defeated.

About a year later, stung by his past failures, he became, not only aggressive, but abusive. The following is a copy of a letter dated June 3, 1906:

Prof. H. G. Mitchell,

Dear Sir: Since I became convinced of your real character I have taken no pains to conceal my opinion, as you very well know. Believing, as I do, that you are thoroughly corrupt, I cannot be satisfied that I have done my duty until you are outside of the Methodist fold.

If you care to withdraw quietly, without a trial and without charges being formally preferred, you can do so, if you act within the next few days.

Unless I am satisfied by you or your Presiding Elder that you have withdrawn from the ministry and membership of the M. E. Church within the next thirty days, I shall take it that you prefer to contest the matter in a trial. As near as I can learn you have spared no pains to wreck our Church for the past twenty years. If you had your just deserts you [would] be behind prison bars for the rest of your natural life. But the Church has no power to punish beyond expulsion. A man who will lie and deceive the Church, and browbeat theological students, as you have done, for the past twenty years, is as wicked as a man can possibly be. If you prefer a trial to a quiet withdrawal I will spare no pains to get you lawfully expelled. I have no personal enmity against you, but I cannot endure a fraud.

. . . . . .

There was so evident a breach of Discipline in this letter that I sent it to his Presiding Elder and demanded that he call the brother to account. He did, and my correspondent became a little more guarded in his language, but persisted in his determination to drive me from the Church; and in the fall he was on hand at my Conference, the Central New York, with his charges.

Fortunately, the Bishop (Fowler), although he had no sympathy with my ideas and had voted against my confirmation, was perfectly fair in his rulings, and the committee he appointed in its examination. I was especially fortunate in having

the loyal and enthusiastic assistance of Dr., now Bishop, McConnell, whom President Huntington and other friends had sent to defend me. The Rev. Dr. Daniel Steele contributed a paper on *The Kenosis and the Higher Critics.*

The Committee reported that the charges did not contain "sufficient ground to warrant the Conference in proceeding to a trial of the case, but, when it was moved that my character be passed, the Conference, after some debate, asked the Bishop to appoint a Committee to investigate my case and take whatever action they might think wise. They then thoughtlessly gave me a supernumerary relation, thus, as I afterward discovered, rendering any action by the Committee contrary to the Discipline, which says that "a supernumerary" "residing without the bounds of his own conference shall be subject," "under the authority of the Presiding Elder within whose district he resides, to the investigation prescribed."

The Committee, evidently unacquainted with the rule I have quoted, held their first meeting in December. I was notified of the meeting, but allowed to send a paper in lieu of attending. I did not hear anything further until September 1907, when I received a copy of the report it was proposed to present to the Conference at its coming

session. It is so remarkable an example of what it should not have been that it is worth quoting entire:

"Dear Fathers and Brethren: Your Committee appointed at the session of 1906, to consider the case of Hinckley G. Mitchell, respectfully report that, after careful and thorough study of Dr. Mitchell's writings and teachings we believe that he is not in harmony with the doctrines [and] Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church. It is moreover our judgment that he failed to keep the covenant made with the Church, the Conference, and the School of Theology of Boston University.

We therefore endorse the action of the Board of Bishops in declining to confirm him as professor in said School. Nevertheless, in view of the fact that he no longer holds a professorship, and in view of the great disturbance that a church trial would occasion, we recommend: That the Conference do not proceed to the extremity of a trial as yet; but that it make a deliverance, protesting against un-Methodistic, destructive, and divisive teachings in any of our theological schools."

The Conference met on the second of October under the presidency of Bishop Berry,—again one of those who opposed my confirmation. Dr. McConnell was again my counsel and, as such, was granted permission to represent me.

On the following day, in executive session, the Committee presented its report, with the omission of the last sentence of the second paragraph. Dr.

McConnell being recognized, protested against the adoption of the recommendations of the Committee as unreasonable and unjust. Several amendments were proposed and rejected. I suggested privately that I would not object to such a charge as "holds views on which there is considerable difference of opinion and widespread anxiety in our Church." I was willing that the Conference should give expression to their conservative spirit and attitude, if they would consent to show me like tolerance. Apparently neither Dr. McConnell nor I made as much as we might have made of the point that the Committee was improperly constituted and that therefore the report was entirely out of order.

The Conference, after various attempts to amend the report, adopted it without change, except for the elision of the phrase "as yet" in the last paragraph. Then, strange as it may seem, they passed my character, that is, virtually declared me innocent of the charges made; upon which Dr. McConnell, speaking for me, demanded an immediate trial. An attempt was made to meet this demand, but it was found impossible to secure a committee to frame the charges. When it was moved that the one which had made the report serve in this capacity, four of its members, "with one accord,"

declined. The vote to grant an immediate trial was finally reconsidered, my relation charged from supernumerary to effective, and action on my demand deferred until the session of 1908. I gave notice that I reserved the right to file objections against the legality of the entire proceedings in my case with the proper tribunal. I ought to add that the original complainant was present at the Conference, with new charges, but he was not allowed to present them or have any least part in the proceedings.

AT THE SEAT OF AUTHORITY

When I gave notice of an intention to file objections to the proceedings in my case at the Central New York Conference, I of course had in mind an appeal to the General Conference; which was due to meet in the following May. When the time came I went to Baltimore with the following paper:

"Hinckley G. Mitchell, a member of the Central New York Conference, makes complaint to the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church held in Baltimore, May, 1908, as follows:

1. That, at the Session of the Central New York Conference held at Penn Yan, New York, October 1906, a committee was appointed by order of the Conference to determine whether it was necessary to bring charges against the said Hinckley G. Mitchell for heresy; that after the said committee had been appointed the relation of Hinckley G. Mitchell was changed from effective to supernumerary, without making provision for having the investigation conducted according to paragraph 222, section 4, of the Discipline.

2. That, though the action appointing the committee became null and void with the change of Hinckley G. Mitchell from effective to supernumer-

ary, the said committee proceeded to investigate the doctrinal soundness of the complainant.

3. That, in carrying on this alleged investigation, the committee did not summon Hinckley G. Mitchell or his representative to appear before them.

4. That this committee, in reporting to the Conference at the session held at Auburn in October, 1907, did not confine itself to a simple statement as to whether Hinckley G. Mitchell was, or was not, deserving of having charges brought against him, but declared Hinckley G. Mitchell guilty of heresy, without giving specifications or presenting any evidence, as required by the Discipline, when a member is arraigned before a conference, as your complainant virtually was, although the committee reported against trying him. The following are the words of the report: 'Your committee appointed at the session of 1906 to consider the case of Hinckley G. Mitchell, respectfully report, that, after careful and thorough study of Dr. Mitchell's writings and teachings, we believe that he is not in harmony with the Doctrines and Discipline of the Methodist Church.'

5. That the Conference proceeded to adopt the report of the committee after it was protested by the representative of Hinckley G. Mitchell that the committee had no disciplinary standing, and that the report reflected upon the character of a Methodist minister who had not been tried and found guilty.

6. That, upon the request of said Hinckley G. Mitchell for immediate trial upon the statements made in the report, the Conference passed the char-

acter of Hinckley G. Mitchell, while at the same time refusing to reconsider the adoption of the report. Hinckley G. Mitchell protests that this action was equivalent to denying him a trial after charges had been brought against him by the Conference.

7. That, upon repeated demand of Hinckley G. Mitchell for immediate trial, the Conference postponed action on his request for one year. Hinckley G. Mitchell protests that this action was equivalent to denying him a trial after charges had been made against him by the Conference.

8. That the proceedings of the Conference were presided over by a Bishop who had already passed upon charges brought against Hinckley G. Mitchell, in that the Bishop had agreed to a statement of the Board of Bishops, unanimously adopted, that 'some of the statements (of Professor Mitchell) concerning the historic character of the early chapters of the book of Genesis seem to be unwarranted and objectionable, and as having a tendency to invalidate the authority of other portions of the Scriptures' (Dated October 31, 1905); that, while the said presiding Bishop, so far as the complainant knows, did not intentionally exert unfair influence against Hinckley G. Mitchell, the very fact that the presiding Bishop and the Board of Bishops had already passed adversely upon the doctrinal soundness of Hinckley G. Mitchell was prejudicial to the case of Hinckley G. Mitchell.

Your complainant respectfully requests, in view of these facts, that the action of the so-called committee in the case of Hinckley G. Mitchell, and the action of the Conference in adopting the report of the committee be declared null and void.

These objections are filed in accordance with a notice given the Central New York Conference, Friday, October 4, 1907 (Minutes, p. 48).

(Signed) Hinckley G. Mitchell."

This complaint—which, as I copy it, sounds unnecessarily repetitious in its identification of the party of the first part—was duly laid before the General Conference and referred to the Committee on Judiciary. The case was so clear that this Committee had no difficulty in reaching a decision adverse to the Conference, but a minority preferred a milder form of verdict. The Majority report, as published in the Advocate, read as follows:

"Your Committee on Judiciary, having carefully reviewed the records on appeal in the case of Hinckley G. Mitchell, of the Central New York Conference, report as follows, to wit:

It appears by the records that in October, 1906, a committee was appointed by the order of said conference to investigate the case of Hinckley G. Mitchell and to take whatever action they might deem wise.

After said committee was appointed the relation of said Hinckley G. Mitchell was changed from effective to supernumerary, without making provision to have the investigation conducted according to paragraph 222, section 4, of the Discipline.

The committee proceeded to investigate the doctrinal soundness of said Hinckley G. Mitchell, but did not summon or notify him or his representatives to appear before it. The committee, in reporting

to the Conference at the session held in October, 1907, without giving specifications or presenting any evidence, reported that they believed that the said Hinckley G. Mitchell was not in harmony with the doctrine and Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and at the same time recommended that the Conference do not proceed to the extremity of a trial, but that it make a deliverance protesting against un-Methodistic, destructive and divisive teachings in any of our theological schools.

The report of the committee was adopted by the Conference and thereafter the Conference passed the character of said Hinckley G. Mitchell, but refused to reconsider the adoption of the report of the committee.

Demand was thereupon made by said Hinckley G. Mitchell for immediate trial, but the Conference deferred action upon his demand for one year. A motion to expunge from the report of the committee all reflection upon the character of said Hinckley G. Mitchell was laid upon the table.

There appears to be no disciplinary provision for the report of the committee or the action of the Conference in adopting such report. The report of the committee was a reflection upon the character of said Hinckley G. Mitchell. It was the duty of the Conference to grant him a trial upon his demand therefore, or to expunge from the report of the committee all reflection upon his character. The Conference neglected and refused so to do. Your Committee on Judiciary therefore recommend that the action of the committee appointed by the Central New York Conference to investigate the case of the said Hinckley G. Mitchell, and the action of the Conference in adopting the report of such committee be declared null and void."

This report was signed by the Chairman and Secretary of the Committee on Judiciary. The Minority Report, signed by two members, differed from it only in that it recommended that "the action of the Central New York Conference in refusing to grant the said Hinckley G. Mitchell a trial is disapproved."

One speech was made in favor of the reports, then the Chairman of the Committee on Judiciary, Dean Rogers, of Yale, closed the discussion with these words: "I have but a few words to say on this question. Now what is the question? I submit to the lawyers in this body, whether in the civil courts of the land a man can be charged with an offence and that charge be permitted to hang over his head and he denied the right to a trial on it. You must try him or you must dismiss your charge. Now the question here is whether this ecclesiastical court will permit an Annual Conference through the report of an investigating committee to practically charge a man with heresy and, when asked to be tried on the charge, tell him that he shall have no trial, and yet continue the charge hanging over his head. The majority of the Judiciary say that that is rank injustice, which the civil courts will not permit, and the question is whether you will adopt the same rule or whether you will permit

the conference to take this action, spread it on its records, leave it unexpunged, and say to the man, 'You have been so charged with heresy. We will not give you a trial to enable you to show whether you are guilty or innocent.' I move the adoption of the report of the majority."

It was adopted, and I, of course, was gratified with the result, although I could not but regret that it had to be gained by the humiliation of my Conference. I realized, too, that the Conference would probably wish to settle it at the next session. A motion that a Committee be appointed to frame charges was actually made; but it was lost, and my case was then referred to one of the Presiding Elders. In 1909, however, while I was in Europe, it was proposed, I believe, to try me in my absence. To prevent so evident an injustice the Bishop (Hamilton) transferred me temporarily to the New Hampshire, and later, by all but (two) unanimous requests of this latter, to the New England Conference; the one to which I ought long before to have been transferred, and the one to which, if I had been transferred, I presume, the soundness of my theological views would never have been seriously questioned, or, if they had been, I should have been promptly and thoroughly vindicated.

I did not expect the same kind or degree of success from my complaint against the Bishops

as against my Conference. I did not aim to secure a reversal of their action. I had severed my connection with the School of Theology and my successor had been elected and installed. Moreover, I was engaged in work which, at least for the time being, was more to my liking than teaching. I felt, however, that the Bishops had transcended their legitimate authority and that the matter ought to be investigated, so that, if this view was correct, they might, by the amendment of the law under which they claimed to have acted, or express and unmistakable restrictions, be prevented from repeating so serious a mistake. "A consummation devoutly to be wished." Therefore, as the date of the General Conference of 1908 drew near I prepared a complaint to that body and sent a notice of my intention, with a copy of the complaint, to the Board of Bishops. Before presenting it in as abridged a form as possible, I ought to explain that, although a minority of the Bishops favored my confirmation and labored earnestly to the last to secure it, since, for some reason these friends finally merged their individualities in a unanimous pronouncement, I had to include them formally in any reference to the action which resulted in my removal from my position. I protest, however, while I do so, not only that I bear them no ill, but that I recall with heartfelt gratitude

their efforts through a series of years in my behalf.

My complaint consisted, in the first place, of a recital of the history of the refusal of the Bishops to act on my confirmation. I quoted from the action of the General Conference of 1904 the three paragraphs two, (c) and (d) and four, under which the Bishops acted, and from that of 1900 the requirement that, in the case of a re-election "the Bishops shall state fully and in writing the grounds of nonconcurrence, both to the professor concerned and to the Trustees of the theological school," I then said:

"I complain that, in the action taken by the Board of Bishops as set forth in their reports of May 1 and October 31, 1905, to the Trustees of Boston University, and their reply dated May 8, 1906, to a protest from me, dated May 1, 1906, they violated the Discipline and my rights as a minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and ignored or misinterpreted the instructions of the General Conference."

I then mentioned the presentation of charges against me by H. W. Peck *et al;* the reference of the same to a Committee of Bishops: the report of this Committee and the action thereon of the Board of Bishops, and the report of the Board to the Trustees of the University.

I next gave a resume of the attempt of the Trustees to meet the requirement of "proper action in

the premises" and introduced the second report of the Board of Bishops, refusing to reconsider their previous decision.

Finally, I added my appeal to the Bishops for specifications, etc., and their reply to it.

The complaint proper I reproduce verbatim:

"This concludes the history of my case, as far as the direct action of the Board of Bishops is concerned. There is, however, one more point that must be mentioned in this connection, to make clear the extent of the injustice done me. I refer to the disadvantage under which I have since labored in defending myself in my own Conference, where I have twice since been accused of heresy. On each of these occasions my accusers cited the action of the Bishops to my disadvantage, and on each of them the presiding Bishop, because he was known to have opposed my confirmation, was a silent witness against me. At the last session, as I shall show in another connection, the prejudice thus created was so strong that it was impossible for me to secure disciplinary treatment.

Having thus laid before your reverend and honorable body the salient facts with reference to the action of the Board of Bishops, in the matter of my confirmation, as I have gathered them, I beg leave to prefer the following requests:

1. That you will take these facts, and any others that may be elicited by investigation, and record your judgment, as representative of the Methodist Episcopal Church on the following points:

a. Whether the General Conference of 1904, in the action cited by the Board of Bishops, did, or

did not, authorize them to entertain formal charges against teachers in the theological schools and pass upon such charges, as the Bishops actually did when they pronounced the evidence produced against me by H. W. Peck and others not sufficient to prove the first complaint.

b. Whether in either case the Bishops, by considering these charges and rendering that decision, did, or did not, usurp and illegally exercise, a function of the Annual Conference, to which, according to the Discipline, and the evident intent of the General Conference of 1904, belongs the prerogative of 'determining the doctrinal soundness of preachers and teachers.'

c. Whether in any case the Bishops, in rendering the decision cited, did, or did not, one and all disqualify themselves for presiding at the Central New York Conference, when practically the same charges were preferred against me.

d. Whether, on the supposition that the General Conference authorized, and legally, the Board of Bishops to entertain the charges lodged with them, the Committee, consisting in part of retired Bishops, however worthy, by whom the charges were investigated, was, or was not, properly constituted.

e. Whether, on the same supposition, the Committee did, or did not, violate my rights as an accused person, in omitting to call me before them, or furnish me with a copy of the charges, or even notify me that charges had been preferred against me.

f. Whether, in any case, the Board of Bishops did, or did not, satisfy the requirements of the law of 1900, heretofore cited, in publishing in the denominational and other journals the statement that

'some of the statements of Professor Mitchell concerning the historical character of the early chapters of Genesis' seemed to them 'unwarranted and objectionable and as having a tendency to invalidate the authority of other portions of the Scriptures,' and refusing my request for specifications.

2. That if, in your judgment, the laws under which the Bishops claim to have acted are at fault, or their interpretation of these laws mistaken, or the mode of procedure adopted by them in any respect unjustifiable, you will so declare, and, in either or all, of these cases, determine the nature and measure of redress to which, as a minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church and a member of an annual conference, I am entitled.

Respectfully submitted,

May 6, 1908 (Signed) Hinckley G. Mitchell."

I forwarded my complaint to the General Conference by one of the delegates from the New England Conference and afterward myself went to Baltimore, prepared, if invited, to go before the Committee to which it had been referred. Dr. McConnell, also, was present.

My paper went first, we heard, to the Committee on Education, but it was finally sent to the Committee on Judiciary, by which Dr. McConnell was granted a hearing and from which a report (18) in due time appeared in the Advocate; an amazing report, in that, although it discussed my complaint point by point through the six under the first head,

in each case sustained the Bishops and entirely ignored my second and most important request, one for a ruling on the law under which the Bishops claimed to have acted. We could not understand how a committee headed by the Dean of the Yale Law School could produce such a paper. I never understood the matter until Dean Rogers himself, some time after the Conference, very kindly explained it. It appears that, when this report was published, the Committee, to which the Bishops also had appealed for a ruling on the law of 1904, was divided on the question of its constitutionality, but, when my complaint against my Conference had been received and considered, some of those who had contended for it changed their minds and the sentiment of the Committee. Meanwhile the Committee on Education, which had been studying the same subject presented its report (4) as follows:

"Your Committee, having carefully considered certain memorials referred to it relating to the supervising power of the Board of Bishops over our theological schools, begs leave to report as follows:

Whereas, The Bishops in their Episcopal Address state that the action of the General Conference of 1904 touching this matter involves certain inconsistencies and has proved in practice 'difficult to administer', and

Whereas, The General Conference of 1856 requested the Bishops to act as advisers of the trustees of one of our theological schools, and

Whereas, The Board of Bishops, in pursuance of such request, advised the trustees to submit the election of each of its professors to the Board of Bishops for confirmation, and

Whereas, As a condition precedent to confirmation and appointed in the Annual Conference, the Board of Bishops has required of each professor in all our theological schools a written pledge of loyalty to our doctrine and polity, and

Whereas, This peculiar advisory relationship of Board of Bishops has been recognized by the governing boards of all our theological schools, the Bishops either nominating or confirming their professors: therefore

Resolved, That the General Conference hereby authorizes and directs that, whenever specific complaints are made in writing and signed by five responsible persons, members or ministers of the Methodist Episcopal Church, charging a professor in one of our theological schools with violating his pledge to the Bishops of loyalty to our doctrine and polity, said charges shall be lodged with the Board of Bishops, who shall carefully consider the same, and, if in their opinion they are of sufficient gravity to require an investigation, they shall immediately present them to the Presiding Elder of the Annual Conference to which the accused belongs, where he shall be dealt with according to the provisions of the Discipline in paragraph 226. If however, he is a layman, the charges shall be sent to the pastor of the church of which he is a member and he shall be brought to trial according to the provision of paragraph 250 of the Discipline. But in case the complaints affect the manner of

teaching, or the personal fitness of the professor for his office, and not his doctrinal soundness, the Bishops shall, after due consideration of the same, advise the governing board of the school in which he is a teacher of the action they have taken and their judgment in the case."

The report was no sooner read than a member was on his feet to amend by substituting "the Presiding Elder" for "the Board of Bishops." This, however, did not satisfy Dean Rogers, who came forward with a more sweeping proposal. He introduced it as follows:

"Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, I had a report from the Committee on Judiciary on this question. I cannot at this particular stage of the proceedings introduce it as a report of the Judiciary Committee, but I desire to have a substitute, and, if you will permit me, I will read this as my speech before I make the substitute.

The majority of the Committee on Judiciary are convinced that the legislation which imposes upon the Bishops the duty to investigate charges of heresy is unconstitutional, inasmuch as it imposes upon the Bishops the duty to investigate the charges, and it makes them, first, the investigators, and afterwards, the presiding judge in the Conference, when the man is on trial.

I am not going to enlarge on the constitutional question, but, as I have said, the majority of the Committee are convinced that legislation is unconstitutional, and we are all convinced, whether

it is unconstitutional or not, that it is exceedingly inexpedient to do it; and I desire to move this resolution as a substitute:

'Resolved, That the Bishops be, and hereby are, relieved from the duty of investigating and reporting to the Board of Trustees upon charges of misteaching in our theological schools, but that, when charges of that nature are made, to, or laid before, these aforesaid Bishops, they may, without action thereon, refer the same to the Annual Conference of which the accused is a member, for such proceeding as such conference may deem appropriate in the premises.'

I move that as a substitute for what is now before you."

Several others spoke, among them W. H. Wilder, who concluded his remarks with—

"Every minister has a right, not only to a trial, but a fair trial. Can it be a fair trial when the Bishops themselves are made the accusers in the case? And then they are the judges of the law, and the judges of the admissibility of testimony, and the presiding officers of the higher court of the Church. I hope that this substitute will prevail in the interests of the Church, and in the interests of fair play, and in the interests of the true, genuine, orthodox doctrine of Methodism."

It did prevail, when Dean Rogers, correcting his last statement, had explained that his resolution was a substitute, not for the entire resolve of the report, but for that part of it which dealt with the case of the clerical professor.

The adoption of Dean Rogers' substitute rendered it unnecessary for the Committee on Judiciary to go farther with the report to which he referred (27), but it seemed best to the majority that it be finished and published. It was also presented to the Conference, but, since there were still some members of the Committee who could not agree to it, it was merely received, not adopted. Still, it is of importance enough as an index of opinion among thoughtful Methodists to deserve a place in this connection. I take it from the Journal of the General Conference, p. 446:

"In the matter referred to the Judiciary Committee by the Board of Bishops, relating to the action of the General Conference Journal of 1904 and found in Volume 15, General Conference Journal, on page 492, under subdivision (d), which reads:

'The Bishops are hereby authorized and directed, whenever specific charges of misteaching in any of our theological schools are made in writing by responsible parties, members or ministers of our Church, to appoint a committee of their own number to investigate such charges, whose report, if adopted by the Bishops, shall be transmitted to the trustees of the theological schools involved for proper action in the premises.'

Your Committee begs leave to report as follows: In the opinion of the majority of the Committee the paragraph recited is unconstitutional and therefore

void. A minority of the Committee hold that the power of the General Conference to make the said rule is not limited by the Restrictive Rules, and therefore the said paragraph is not unconstitutional.

All concur in the opinion that the provisions of said paragraph are not in harmony with our general law relating to the duty of Bishops as Presidents of Annual Conferences and Judicial Conferences, while sitting to try accused persons, but is wholly inconsistent therewith and tending to prejudice the trial of such persons by reason of an opinion formed and expressed, founded upon an *ex parte* investigation made by a committee of the Board of Bishops, one of whom must, or may, preside at the trial.

Your Committee further expresses the opinion that said paragraph, if constitutional, in as far as it directs the Board of Bishops to cause an investigation to be made by a committee of its own members and report the result thereof to the said trustees, is so completely at variance with the other provisions of the act of which it constitutes a part, and with the general law of the Church relative to trials and investigations, that it may be regarded as directory only, and not mandatory."

The Judiciary Committee, when the above report was presented, might have called attention to the conflict between it and parts of Report 18, the one on my complaint, and formally withdrawn the latter. The Chairman refrained from so doing because he thought the result would be the same if he simply neglected to present it, and he was afraid

that if he called it up for any purpose he would provoke a discussion of the constitutionality of the law of 1904 for which the Conference had no time. The result was not the same. What happened, was that someone, presumably a Secretary, on the authority of some other person or persons unknown made in the records of the Conference an entry to the effect that this Report was presented and approved, and the same or some other person inserted the report itself, so that, when the Journal was published these entries appeared as records of actual proceedings. The mysterious error, of course, was so misleading that I could not but earnestly request its correction. Nor could the Secretary of the Conference, Dr. Hingeley, but give the matter his equally earnest attention; but it was not until the Conference of 1912 that, with the assistance of Dean Rogers, he was able to secure the passage of the following explanation and correction, copied from the Advocates of May 28, 1912:

THE CASE OF H. G. MITCHELL.

Henry Wade Rogers: As Chairman of the Judiciary Committee of the Conference held at Baltimore I wish to call your attention to the fact a mistake has been made in the publication of the Journal Report No. 18, on page 475. That report relates

to the case of Hinckley G. Mitchell. There are two questions before the Judiciary Committee at Baltimore, and Report No. 18 was printed in the Daily Advocate, but was never acted upon by the General Conference. As Chairman of that Committee, acting under the instructions of the Committee, we withheld that report from the General Conference, but through some mistake of the secretaries it was improperly printed in the Journal. I desire to call the attention of this Conference to the fact in order that the proper correction may be made, and a resolution on this subject will now be presented by Dr. Hingeley, the Secretary of the Conference.

Whereas, In the Journal of the General Conference of 1908, page 435, it is recorded that Report No. 18, of the Committee on Judiciary, touching the case of the appeal by H. G. Mitchell was "Approved," and

Whereas, In fact, the said Report was withheld in favor of a later proposal, and the statement cited above is an evident error, and that therefore Report No. 18, which appears on pages 475-476 of the Journal of 1908, should have been omitted from the Journal.

Therefore, Be it resolved, that the Secretary be directed to make this statement in the Journal of 1912.

(Signed) Joseph B. Hingeley, Secretary.
Henry Wade Rogers, Chairman
of the Committee on Judiciary."

The foregoing resolution was adopted.

I was pleased with this action of the General Conference, because, although it did not undo the mischief that had been wrought, it made it possible

for the student of the history of our Church to discover that my appeal to the Conference of 1908 was not in vain, but disclosed the error and danger in giving to the Bishops any excuse for invading the province of the Annual Conference and restricting the freedom of our theological teachers. I find from a note appended to my copy of my complaint that at that time I was questioning whether the declaration which the Bishops were requiring of such teachers, when their election was before them for confirmation, to the effect that they (the teachers) sincerely accepted the doctrines and Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and purposed to teach in harmony therewith, was not only superfluous in the case of a minister, but a reflection on his character as a member of an Annual Conference. Could the Bishops arraign and punish him if he broke that pledge? To inquire whether he had broken it would be to resume the "duty" from which they have been "relieved."

I have now finally disposed of the Mitchell case, and, having done so, I will resume the story of the serener activities in which I was chiefly engaged when it was settled. I finished my *Genesis,* as I have already stated, before going to Europe in 1909. I did not then have anything else in hand.

Professor Mathews had suggested another subject, but, as it was a little aside from my favorite line of work, I hesitated to adopt his suggestion. When, however, I returned rested, I found my courage equal to the task of undertaking a book on *The Ethics of the Old Testament;* and I went to work on it.

I might have followed any of several methods. The one I chose was selected because I had decided that I wished to write for students, not, however, to provide a complete and exhaustive discussion of the subject, but rather to present the data in such a way as to enable the reader, with some study, to get for himself a more comprehensive view of any phase of it. To this end I first outlined briefly the history of the origin of the various books, or parts of books, of the Old Testament, according to the best critical authorities, and then, taking each of these literary units in chronological order, set forth its ideas on the individual topics under personal, domestic, and social ethics therein taught or implied. It was an undertaking that involved the collection, analysis, and arrangement of a mass of details that sometimes seemed unmanageable, but time and patience finally enabled me to reach tolerably satisfactory results and the publishers to issue the book in 1912.

When I undertook this work I supposed that

I was definitely committed to a literary course for the rest of my life. I saw no other open to me. The President of one Methodist institution had told me, indeed, that, if he had a vacancy, he would gladly give me a position; but I felt certain that no other would take the risk of employing a man known to be objectionable to the Bishops, with their opportunities for unfavorable influence. If I had been younger, it might have occurred to me to seek a place in some other denomination;—without ceasing to be a Methodist;—but I had nearly reached the age at which many think it the duty of a teacher to retire, and that would have made it seem folly to move in any such direction. I am not sure that, sometimes, when I canvassed the matter, I did not for a little give place to depression. I am quite sure that, when suddenly I found that there were those outside the Methodist Church who still remembered me and still retained a favorable opinion of me as an instructor, I was very happy. It was in 1910, when, for the second time, I was invited to give a course of lectures at the Harvard Summer School of Theology. This time I took for my subjects *Has Old Testament Criticism Collapsed?* and *The Extent and Significance of the Ungenuine Element in the Prophetical Books.* The first of these subjects was suggested by the Dean of the School, by whose

advice the lecture was afterward published in the Harvard Theological Review. I was the more willing to discuss it because Orr's *Problem of the Old Testament* was then a recent work and highly regarded in certain quarters. I discussed his theory at some length and gave my reasons for rejecting it. I concluded my criticism with the words: "Professor Orr's theory will not satisfy conservative students of the Old Testament, when they understand it. I am sure that it will not convert any of the critics. It will probably, after having served for a season as a half-way house for fearful or timid people, go the way of all makeshifts and compromises—and be forgotten."

On the general outlook I added the following paragraph, which is a sample of my conservatism; a conservatism, not of the letter, but of the spirit, of the Hebrew Scriptures: "It can hardly be doubted that the Documentary Hypothesis, in substantially the prevalent outlines, has come to stay: that is to say, we shall accept the theory that the early narratives of the Old Testament are composite productions, compiled from various sources in which had previously been embodied the unfolding conceptions of the Hebrews concerning their past. If I were asked to go more into detail, I should say that this theory will finally be modified to this extent, namely, that the critics will

have to agree to refer the original of Deuteronomy to a date nearer 700 than 621 B. C., and more clearly to recognize the existence in all of the documents of material derived from oral or written sources older, and in some cases much older, than the documents themselves. These concessions made, the result will be just what it was in the case of the theory of evolution. At first we rejected and anathematized it, because some who held it ignored God, and we saw no way to reconcile it with faith in his sovereignty; but, when we realized that no law can execute itself, we accepted the new doctrine and found it even more worthy of "his eternal power and godhead" than our previous ideas concerning the origin of the world. So also we shall finally adjust ourselves to the idea of evolution as applied to the Pentateuch and the Hebrew Scriptures generally, and find in it one of our strongest arguments for the divinity of their origin."

In my second lecture I first took my hearers rapidly through the prophetical books one after another, showing that there were none of them to which additions more or less extensive or important had not been made, sometimes by several hands. I did not, however, leave these facts to produce their natural effect on the minds of those who had not given them thorough consideration,

but explained how they could be made, not merely harmless, but helpful. This I did in the following paragraphs:

"In the first place it is important to consider just what is meant by the term 'ungenuine.' It is commonly used in the sense of 'spurious' in contrast with 'real,' for example, of counterfeits of coins or precious stones. In such cases it implies depreciation of the thing it describes, as well as of the counterfeiter. When applied to literature it means that the book, or part of a book, so described was not written by the person under whose name it circulates. In this case there may be no intent to deceive, and, whether there is or not, the term in question does not determine the value of the given book or other literary product. Now, the Hebrew had no such notions of literary property as we entertain. Hence he saw no impropriety in writing under the name of a famous character of a by-gone age, or adding to a work already written by another anything that would make his copy of it of greater value. This being the prevalent idea and practice, 'ungenuine' when applied to Daniel, for example, or any part of Isaiah, becomes practically equivalent to 'anonymous,' and no student of the Old Testament ought to be afraid of this term, seeing that there is none of its books, outside the prophetical list, whose real author can be identified.

It is helpful, also, to remember how this anonymous prophetical literature is distributed. The prophetic period, from the literary point of view, begins with the book of Amos, the date of which is about 760 B. C. From that time until the

Exile there is an unbroken succession of men of God whose names have been preserved as well as the substance of their more significant utterances. From the time of Ezekiel onward, according to tradition, the succession is broken; in other words, in the most cruel crises of their history the Chosen People were without Prophets to comfort and direct them. It is at this point that criticism enters its caveat, insisting that the prophetic spirit was never more active than during the Exile, and that, for more than three and a half centuries after the Restoration, there continued to be men who, if they did not claim divine inspiration, carried forward the work to which the former prophets devoted their lives. It was one of these who wrote Is. 40–55, a work hardly surpassed in value and significance as a product of religious thought, and another who was the author of the unique and inspiring book of Daniel. These two fill the largest gaps left by traditional exegesis, the one having ministered to the need of the Captivity, the other to that of the terrible crisis of the Maccabean period. As for the rest, they also served their generations, leaving behind them, as a part of their work, the briefer additions scattered through the prophetic literature from Isaiah to Malachi. Thus it is possible for one who believes in prophetic inspiration to maintain that the history of prophecy is a vindication of the teaching of Amos, who said that 'the Lord Yahweh doeth naught except he have revealed his purpose to his servants the prophets.'

Finally, let me call your attention to the character of this anonymous element. The early prophets are generally severe and denunciatory. Their

almost constant theme is the sinful condition of their people. Most of them see little hope for the future, or, if they see any, it is only through a vista of oppression and suffering. Those who witnessed the fulfilment of the gloomy predictions of Amos and Jeremiah had little heart or need for denunciation. The sense of sin was only too prevalent and oppressive. The great need was comfort and encouragement. Not that hope had even then been entirely quenched; for, just as the earlier Hebrews saw God in their past, and made their history teach them the will of Yahweh, so these later generations had an inextinguishable faith in their future, and only needed someone to voice their conviction that Yahweh would yet comfort and deliver his afflicted people. This faith found its grandest expression in Isa. 52: 13ff., the key to which is 55: 3f.; for in this passage the prophet turned his back upon the visions of dominion the Jews had previously cherished and chose for them, as more glorious than the abundant 'mercies of David', the privilege of suffering in the service of mankind.

Do not misunderstand me. I do not claim that these anonymous books and passages are all of the highest order of Scripture. I say only that they are often the product of a faith, which, although it is sometimes mistaken or fanatical, speaks to faith, and therefore I am sure that, whatever the critics may say or do, you and I, and the rest of the religious world, will keep them in our Bible."

The lectures above described were given in July, 1910. Before the summer was gone I had a sec-

ond surprise for which I was even less prepared. This was when the President of Tufts College called and offered me a position in the theological department of that institution. I was, of course, pleased with the offer, coming, as it did, from a stranger who was also a member of a denomination in which I had no reason to think that I was widely or favorably known. I explained it by supposing that one or both of the two members of the Tufts Faculty with whom I was acquainted had recommended me. That supposition would have prompted me to give the matter serious consideration. When I asked myself whether I could accept, I was surprised at the favor with which I found myself regarding it. I realized that, although I had pursued a literary life with some success for the last five years and had become somewhat accustomed to it, it did not really satisfy me. I had missed the opportunities for intimacy with eager and earnest young men which my position as a teacher had afforded me, and the possibility of regaining such a position was very attractive. I was not, however, so situated as to be able to seize it without hesitation. In the first place, although many, when I lost my former position, expected me to leave the Methodist Church, I had never thought of it, but had always, when it was suggested, declared that I should not leave it

willingly until I went to heaven. I therefore frankly told Dr. Hamilton that I was a Methodist and intended to retain my membership and my relations as a minister in that Communion. Somewhat to my surprise he replied without hesitation that he preferred to have me do so, explaining that it was his idea to make his theological department interdenominational and he wished me to help him in that policy. My second condition met with a similar reception, for, when I told him that I had for five years been engaged in literary work, and that I did not for the present wish to devote myself wholly to teaching, he said that, since the School of Theology was undergoing reorganization, he could not well give me full work for the time being. These points being settled, the rest was easy; when, therefore, September came, I entered upon the duties of a professor of Hebrew and Old Testament Exegesis at the College. My courses, however, were made elective in the other departments; so that from the first I had students from that of Liberal Arts, and, after it was opened, from Jackson College for Women.

Hebrew had previously been elective in the Theological School. When I took charge of my department, the Faculty did me the honor to make it a required study: but, since students who had not taken it were admitted to my classes in Exegesis, I

found it necessary in them to use the English Version: which had its advantages, among them that I was thus able to cover much more ground, in fact so large a part of the Old Testament as to give a fairly comprehensive idea of its contents.

From the first I have had in my classes men and women of all shades of religious belief, but they have all, naturally, been inclined to be liberal;—otherwise they would not have been there;—and they have always given me a fair hearing. Indeed, they have been so tolerant that sometimes my work has seemed tame in comparison with my previous experience as a teacher, when my time and thought were largely given to explaining and defending the positions that my studies had compelled me to take, and I have had to consider ways and means of arousing interest in my courses. I have succeeded to some extent by going over the lesson to be assigned beforehand and calling attention to points which were especially important. By this method I am able to show the student how to attack a subject and prevent him from making mistakes, the later correction of which might embarrass, perhaps discourage him. I do not, however, carry this method so far as to relieve him entirely from the necessity of thinking for himself, but encourage him thereto by a daily series of questions which require more or less study and careful

written answers, to be presented at the next recitation. Finally there is the occasional essay on some more general subject, in the preparation of which there is abundant opportunity for independent thought. My estimate of the student's ability and proficiency is based largely on the character of these essays.

One phase of my experience in teaching the Old Testament at Tufts has been new. There are many Jews in the College. When, therefore, my courses were made elective, these young men and women were as much entitled to take them as anyone. I rather expected that some of them would wish to study Hebrew with me. They would have done so had the hour at which it was given ever suited them. I did not expect them to be so much interested in my interpretation of their Scriptures. I was therefore somewhat surprised when a young man who was himself teaching in the Jewish schools of Boston applied for admission to a course on the Hebrew Narratives. I was also agreeably surprised to find him, not only very studious, but ready to eschew rabbinical methods and apply to his Scriptures the recognized rules of scientific Exegesis. Naturally he made a good record. He showed his appreciation of the work done, not only by staying with me a second semester, but by bringing four of his Jewish friends with him.

This time the subject was The Prophets. We did not attempt to read all the prophetical books, or indeed, the whole of any of them; but we read enough of the most important to enable a thoughtful student to get a pretty clear idea of the mission of the prophets as a class and become acquainted with the more striking personal, literary, and doctrinal peculiarities of those whose books we studied. I took pains to show the relation of these men of God to the people and the events of the periods to which they belonged and the progress of doctrine among them from one period to another. When we came to the prophecies usually called Messianic I insisted on giving them the meaning their authors evidently intended to convey and those to whom they were addressed naturally found in them. Following this rule I had to say that Isa. 7: 14-16, for example, was not Messianic in any proper sense, but that Isa. 9: 5f. promised an ideal king of the line of David, that is, one so abundantly endowed with the spirit of God that he would be a perfect instrument of the divine will. I made the human origin and the earthly mission of this king so clear that it was not necessary in so many words to deny his identity with Jesus of Nazareth, or even to mention our Lord in this connection; and I refrained from so doing. I did not, however, intend to hide my faith in him or my ideas concern-

ing his place in the history of redemption. A opportunity to declare myself occurred while w were studying Isa. 40-55. We had nearly reache the last of those chapters, and I had explained ho the author, a prophet (or prophets) of the Exil abandoning the expectation of deliverance an prosperity through the agency of an ideal Hebre ruler, was teaching his people to look for releas from captivity by Cyrus, but to take upon them selves, as an ideal people, the task of bringing, no only every Hebrew, but the world, to the knowl edge and service of the true God. It was whil we were discussing this Servant of Yahweh tha one of the Jewish members of the class very quietl remarked that in the New Testament the languag used of the Servant was applied to Jesus, as if th evangelists believed that the prophet had him i mind. I admitted without hesitation not onl that the evangelists had written in the wa described, but that they and the Jews generally o their time evidently gave the prophet credit fo ability to foresee the appearance of persons an events centuries in advance; also that Christia theologians in the past had expressly taught, an the mass of believers probably still accepted, som such doctrine. "But," I said, "I have shown tha the Servant of Yahweh was not an individual, bu a collection of persons, and, this being the case, w

must put the matter of the relation of Jesus to the prophets otherwise. The prophets were practical religious teachers. In the so-called Messianic prophecies they were trying to show their people how, and how only, they could, as a people, obtain deliverance from present troubles and attain the commanding position among the nations which they coveted. When Jesus appeared he not only taught a similar doctrine, he set about the establishment of the long delayed kingdom foretold in the seventh chapter of the book of Daniel, the kingdom represented by 'a son of man.' When he began to meet opposition he found in the faith and patience and devotion of the Servant of Yahweh a program for the remainder of his mission, and, when he had finished his course, his disciples identified him with that heroic figure. That means," I said,—"and, if I were a Jew, I should be proud of the fact,—that the Hebrew prophets provided the program followed centuries later by the Founder of the Christian Church." I am glad to be able to say that the men to whom this explanation was addressed received it with apparent satisfaction and that the Jewish students whom I have since had in my classes have shown equal intelligence and liberality.

It was in the year 1915–16 that the first Jews came into my classes. That same year my de-

partment was enlarged to the extent that I began to give instruction in the New as well as in the Old Testament. The Dean had more than once suggested that I undertake this work, but I had asked to be excused. My main reason for so doing was that I did not feel prepared for it. I had, it is true, always had a fondness for Greek, and in the last year of my theological course I had read the New Testament in the original several times, but I had not given it the time and thought that I had expended on the Hebrew Scriptures, and I could not think anyone competent to interpret it who had not made it a specialty. I felt so strongly in the matter that I should have persisted in excusing myself if I had not been made to feel that there was at the time no one available who was better prepared to fill the vacancy, at least temporarily, and that the New Testament could no longer be neglected as it had been since Dr. Harmon's retirement. In view of this situation I was obliged to reconsider the matter and ask myself what parts or subjects in the New Testament were of first importance to our students, and whether I was fitted, or could speedily fit myself, to handle them helpfully. I decided that, since our students were, first of all, professed disciples of Jesus preparing to commend him and his teaching to the world, they needed above everything else to

know him, his life in Palestine, his work among his people, and the spirit in which he fulfilled his mission. "Next," I said to myself, "as future preachers, with a message, they should know the history of the infant Church, and seek especially to learn the secret of the success of that greatest of missionaries, the apostle Paul." It was about the first of June when I came to this conclusion. The next day I heard Dr. Gordon, at the beginning of a lecture on Dante, say, in substance, that anyone who knew thoroughly one great character was an educated person; whereupon I took the first opportunity to report to the Dean that I would the coming year, and every other year thereafter, with his approval, substitute for the Hebrew of the first semester a three-hour course in the Gospels, and in the second give two hours a week to the Acts and one to Introduction to the New Testament; and that has since been the program.

Having decided upon the scope of my work, I proceeded at once, with a Harmony of the Gospels for a text-book, to prepare a series of lessons, each with an analysis of a certain portion of the quadruple Gospel and a series of questions based on it, after the manner of my papers on the Old Testament. I spent the next three months on them.

I have elsewhere explained that in the past I had been careful not to commit myself very def-

initely on some problems of the New Testament. I now saw that I could not expect longer to occupy such a position, but that I must give these problems my best thought and, if possible, in each case reach a conclusion which I could conscientiously commend to those who sought my help. I had immediate occasion to put this resolution into practice, namely with reference to the stories of the birth and childhood of Jesus. I had never denied them, but I had said in 1895 that, if I ever felt obliged so to do, I could still believe in the divinity of our Lord. After some serious study I felt obliged to go farther and admit that, although there could be no doubt that the Gospels of Matthew and Luke, as we had them, evidently taught that the child Jesus was miraculously conceived, there were certain facts which gave rise to pardonable doubt concerning their evidential value in the matter. The facts which influenced me are the following:

In the first place, there is a mysterious lack of confirmatory evidence to this great miracle from sources from which it was to be expected; for Mark does not mention it, and there are apparently no references to it in the *logia* of Matthew, one of the sources from which the Gospel of that name was compiled. Moreover we look in vain for any trace of familiarity with it elsewhere in the New Testament.

Secondly, when one inquires where the authors of the first and third Gospels got the material for their accounts of the birth and childhood of Jesus, one cannot but be reminded of the freedom with which the former handles prophecy, and of the similarity between the stories of the latter and some in the Old Testament, for example, Gen. 22 (Isaac), Ex. 2: 1ff. (Moses), and I Sam. 3 (Samuel), all of which are of secondary origin.

Finally, these stories of the nativity are not in themselves convincing; for the genealogies do not make Jesus a son of David, and conception by the Holy Spirit is not a satisfactory explanation of the unique relation between him and the Heavenly Father, or the wonderful fruits of his mission to mankind.

There are those who, in their haste, would accuse me of having denied the divinity of Jesus, but that would be unjust, as the last sentence ought to be sufficient to show, for it implies that I would give him a greater place in the minds and hearts of men than that of which Matthew and Luke sought to prove him worthy. I find better proof elsewhere, for example, in the account of the baptism, where Matthew and Luke say that, as Jesus was coming from the water, the Spirit descended upon him and a voice from heaven greeted him with "Thou

art my beloved Son in whom I am well pleased." One is reminded by these words of those of the second psalm, "Thou art my son; this day have I begotten thee"; which denote a unique relation, but do not define its precise character. In the case of Jesus, however, there is the clearest indication that his sonship was of the Spirit; also, perhaps, that he now for the first time realizes his unique dignity and its significance. What it meant to him appears in his saying (Matt. 11:27; Luke 10:21) "All things have been delivered unto me of my Father, and no one knoweth the Son save the Father, neither doth any know the Father save the Son and he to whomsoever the Son willeth to reveal him"; and what it meant to the world in the gracious invitation following in which he summoned "all that labor and are heavy laden" to come to the Father through him. The consciousness of this sonship dominated his life and. . . .

SOME TRIBUTES

A TRIBUTE FROM DR. LEE S. MCCOLLESTER, DEAN OF THE CRANE THEOLOGICAL SCHOOL, TUFTS COLLEGE

In this service of affection and honor, it is my privilege to speak of the Dr. Mitchell of the last period of his life. He had been educated a Methodist, and the activities of his middle years were in a Methodist college. He closed his work as a teacher in a Universalist theological school. He loved his old associations, and held on to those who had been his friends with an unwavering affection. He enjoyed his new associations, and made friends of all who worked with him. In his thinking he could not be limited by any sect, but recognized the good in all. He belonged to the group of honest, brave searchers for the truth. He was a ripe scholar of history and theology, but always a brave and open-minded student of new knowledge and fresh revelations. With a quietness which was mighty he uttered his convictions and moved steadily ahead.

Others here have spoken of his earlier years. I

did not know him until I came to Tufts to be the Dean of Crane Theological School. He had already become well established there. When he left Boston University, Crane Theological School was in need of a teacher of Old Testament, and it welcomed him as man and scholar. This was a fortunate association for both. He brought scholarship and inspiration and the position gave him absolute freedom. He was regarded as an expert in his department, and his conclusions were received with respect. He had been deeply and irreparably hurt by experiences before he came to us, and yet he loved the old association with an unwavering affection. At Tufts he was free to love the old, and to rejoice in the new. Often he said to me, "It is for you to counteract my Methodist utterances with your Universalist conclusions. I shall teach the truth as I see it, whether I am in a Methodist or a Universalist environment." The last years were happy years to him. We loved him for his fine personality, enjoyed him in his clean humor, and prized him for his wonderful teaching qualities. He was above all things a teacher; always a student himself, he was always a teacher of others. Year by year the requirements in Hebrew as necessary in the modern theological training have been reduced, and likewise the disinclina-

tion to take Hebrew as basic to the ministry has increased. But Dr. Mitchell was more than a taskmaster in Hebrew. On one occasion I required a young man to take Hebrew. He objected, said he did not want it, and should never use it. I quite agreed with him, but still insisted that he should take Hebrew. He brought to me his father, who also protested against my requirement. Then I explained, "What I am urging is not a course in Hebrew just for the sake of the language, but a COURSE IN MITCHELL for the benefit of the exact training which he gives, and for the close association with his fine personality which is itself a liberal education. Your son needs what no one save Dr. Mitchell can give. And let us not call it a course in Hebrew, but a course in Mitchell." The young man, protesting, went at the work, and at the end of the year came back and said, "Next year I want another COURSE IN MITCHELL." Dr. Mitchell had two notable qualities as a teacher: one, that of exactness, intellectual drill; and the other, a personal love for the earnest student. He loved every man who sought to do good work. And every man who had work with him loved him as a teacher and a friend. He never let go of a man after he had once become interested in him. He did not think every man who studied with him was necessarily meant for a minister. He had a

peculiar power of finding out for what a man was fitted and for finding the place which fitted the man. Not many weeks ago he came to a conclusion that a certain young man, a graduate, was not where he was having adequate opportunity. By a kind of second sense he felt out a position, quite outside of Dr. Mitchell's usual association, and put the man in a work where he is succeeding splendidly. My extensive travelling since coming to Tufts, in the interest of college and denomination, has brought me an association with men of all churches, and I have been tremendously interested at the question put to me when it became known that I was from Tufts. The primary question was, "Do you know Dr. Mitchell? I want to tell you that that man's methods, clear and brave thinking, and rich personality have given me more than I have gotten from any other teacher." Thus everywhere have I been impressed with the far-reaching effects of the life and teachings of Dr. Mitchell.

During the years of my personal association with him, I have learned to value many admirable qualities. He had a rare humor. His quiet chuckle over some amusing story read, or incident experienced, was delicious. I think it was this sense of humor that helped to carry him bravely through his hard places. Often on arriving at the College

he would stop at my office and repeat a story. It was a delightful habit we all cherished. Another notable quality in his conduct was his appreciation of kindnesses. We loved him so that at the College we gave him free way, and very often he went out of his path to say to us, "You are very good to me and I am very happy here." He was a gentle heretic, but a very brave one. He did not agree with the Methodist Church on some interpretations of scripture and history. Neither did he ever court favor with us by loosely saying he was a Universalist. He was never a dogmatist so far as creed is concerned, but an honest student seeking the truth, and when he had found it in some new aspect, brave enough to utter it, whether it found favor or opposition. He was a man who trusted God and feared not man.

I should not fulfil my privilege here today if I did not refer to his devotion to Mrs. Mitchell. His was a rare chivalry. We sometimes thought he used his strength on details which another might have done as well, and consequently did not save himself for services which none but he could give. But such doubt as this I would not utter were it not that his devotion to the invalid comrade of his life was absolute and chivalrous. He carried to her his best. He lived for her. He died for her.

And through it all, spoke never a word save, "I would that I might do more that she might be well again."

He left us suddenly. The night before his lips became silent, he spent a happy evening with some of his recent graduates. It was an evening they will always remember with gratitude. And the special joy of it was that he was so cheery and forward-looking. The morning of his death he arose as usual, as usual had his breakfast, and as usual was getting together the material for his classes. And then he went, not knowing that he was going. And we are here today to praise him. Our College would have been glad to have had these services in Goddard Chapel on the Hill, but this is in many ways, a fitter place. This is a place typical of him. He belonged not to one church or one school. He belonged to truth and broad education. He belonged to the school and to the city. He was a friend to man. This place belongs really to no sect. It stands in the midst of busy roads of travel. Its place beside the silent graves, under tall business blocks, touches with an appeal of faith the thoughts of all sorts of people. It suggests reverence, faith, destiny, God. He belonged to education, to religion, to the highways of learning and conduct. I devoutly believe that we are doing what he would like to have us do, and that as we

go away from this significant hour and place we shall please him if we carry with us the thought of the poet,

I cannot say and will not say
That he is dead,—he is just away!

With a cheery smile, and a wave of the hand,
He has wandered into an unknown land,

And left us dreaming how very fair
It needs must be, since he lingers there.

Think of him still as the same, I say:
He is not dead,—he is just away!

FROM A LETTER WRITTEN TO MRS. MITCHELL FROM REV. DAVIS WASGATT CLARK

"As we were standing in the vestibule of King's Chapel—waiting for the signal—the doors were thrown open—the lights turned on and the organ gave one clear note of Triumph. As his ministerial guard and Escort Twenty Strong moved down the center aisle one word was in my mind, 'Victory.'

"The thought was expressed that the very place of the service was significant—for *he* belonged to no *one* denomination, but like King's Chapel to all and to the city and state as well.

"It was impressive, when as if in an interlude, in the ritual—the remark was made, 'I now read from the Prophet Amos whose exploiter Dr. Mitchell was—showing the mind of Jehovah's mes-

senger as few have known it worthy to be the Prophet's companion and friend'—The passage was Amos V.

"The climax came when the last speaker said, with quiet dignity and fineness like a judge rendering a decision. 'It has been the unhappy habit of the Church to throw stones at its prophets, possibly not so much so of late as formerly. The very patience and fortitude of the prophets has been the indictment of the church in every age. And the paradox of it is that after the last stone has been thrown the church comes around to accept the teaching of the prophet it has stoned.'

"Nothing could have been more appropriate than the service thoughout—a tribute of scholars to a scholar—dignified and solemn—yet with consciousness of triumph and its attendant joy. It was worthy of Dr. Mitchell and he was worthy of King's Chapel."

A TRIBUTE FROM WILLIAM EDWARDS HUNTINGTON

"It relieves the sorrow we feel in parting from our beloved friend and former colleague, to recall in memory the essential traits of his noble character.

"He came to his work for Boston University through years of strenuous study, four in Wesleyan University and three in the School of Theology, Boston University. It was not perfunctory work that he did in these preparatory stages of his discipline. He bent to his tasks with an eagerness and

persistency, that took him far beyond the prescribed work of the class-room. His aim was not simply to pass examinations and gain the regular degrees; he worked for the joy of mastery in the chosen field of oriental languages and their literature—especially in that of the Hebrew Bible. Yet scholarship for the biblical teacher, as he conceived it, must be flooded with a thoroughly reverent spirit. This he possessed, and it was recognized and felt by all his appreciative students. He could not understand that orthodoxy compelled him to turn his back upon the best religious and philosophic scholarship of his time. He believed it possible to be both loyal to his church and a faithful interpreter of biblical truth. He was both a peer among scholars and a leader among the guides in modern Christianity. In the field of Christian culture, as Boston University represented it, he was a worthy fellow teacher with William F. Warren, Borden P. Bowne and Henry C. Sheldon.

"When the storm of opposition broke upon him in 1903–04 from those who misunderstood or misstated his doctrinal views, and when by Episcopal authority he was no longer to hold his place in the University, he was sorely grieved but not embittered; he suffered but did not indulge in angry resistance; he submitted but did not abate a jot or tittle of his convictions regarding revealed truth.

"The strength and serenity in which he passed through that trying crisis gave abundant proof of the greatness of his character. His gentle voice was never used in railing against ecclesiastical authority. His tender heartedness was not chilled. It was the same loving friend who watched with almost paternal interest the careers of his students, and helped them whenever and wherever he could, after his separation from the University as he did before.

"The unwritten history of his domestic conditions, if it were written, would reveal a second background of affection, tender care and solicitude for his companion, through all the years of their wedded life, which would bring out in full significance the choice lineaments of his character. For the last decade of their united life Mrs. Mitchell was under such physical infirmity as made her a prisoner in her rooms, and as she continues to be, all the weariness and pain of this prolonged invalidism is borne by this noble woman with amazing patience and fortitude; and on his part, the anxiety, the watching, the delicate attentions in the sick room, and unconquerable cheerfulness and hope, were never wanting and never flagged even when his personal load was hard to bear. His soul was not only mellowed by such experiences in his home, but the strong fibers of his character were made

more firm, enabling him in the days of 'contradiction of sinners' and of mistaken saints to hold himself with power and not in passion, in the quiet of an unshaken Faith."

FROM THE TRIBUTE OF HOWARD N. BROWN, MINISTER AT KING'S CHAPEL, BOSTON

"I cannot forbear to add here one word of personal tribute in honor of a man to whom my heart has long given instinctive reverence. In all periods of the life of the church it has had a bad habit of casting stones at its own prophets and pioneers. It is better in our day than in past ages; but this man suffered, as others have had to suffer, because he bore witness to the truth. He really belongs to the noble army of martyrs. And he bore his undeserved rebuke as a martyr should, with beautiful patience, forbearance and fortitude; without a trace of bitterness, so far as one could see in thought or speech. The world has to accept the teaching of such men in the end, and it is what opens the door to all the opportunities of coming time. All honor to the brave heart and quiet spirit which the world could neither frighten nor overawe. He spoke God's truth; and he has left a mark upon the world's consciousness which time will not efface."

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